

BREAKING THE SILENCE

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

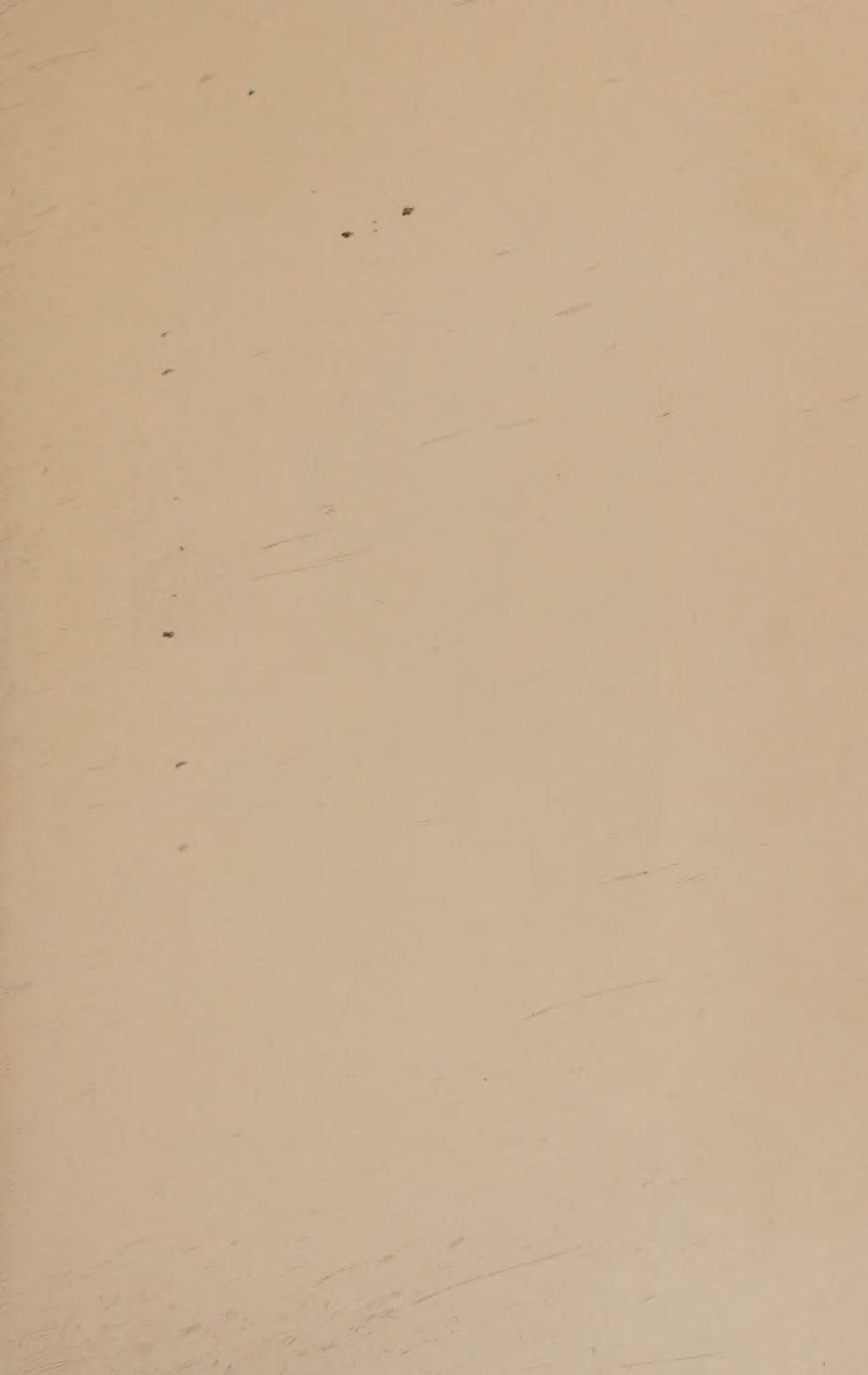
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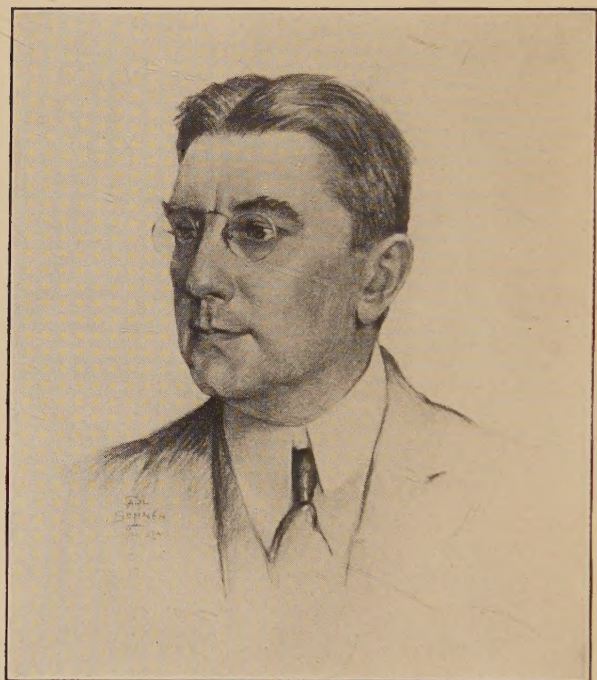
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Breaking the silence;

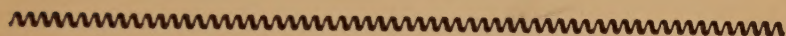
*"To sin by silence when we should protest,
Makes cowards out of men. The human race
Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised
Against injustice, ignorance and lust,
The Inquisition yet would serve the law,
And guillotines decide our least disputes.
The few who dare must speak, and speak again,
To right the wrongs of many."*





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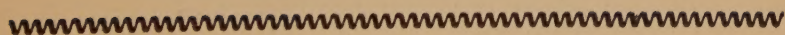


ENGLAND, IRELAND
WILSON AND THE WAR

BY

T. St. John Gaffney

ILLUSTRATED



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TO MY WIFE
FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY

SEVERAL OF THE CHAPTERS AND PICTURES IN THIS BOOK HAVE APPEARED IN *The Progressive Magazine* OF CHICAGO. THE ARTICLE DEALING WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF MESSRS. LANSING AND SCOTT ON THE ENTENTE COMMISSION OF FIFTEEN, PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX, WAS PUBLISHED IN *Current History Magazine* IN MARCH, 1930. THE AUTHOR EXPRESSES HIS THANKS TO THESE PUBLICATIONS FOR THEIR PERMISSION TO USE THE MATERIAL.

INTRODUCTION

SO MUCH of the literature concerning the World War by American authors has dealt with purely technical military and diplomatic phases, or has been so one-sided and biased in its philosophical tendency, that Mr. St. John Gaffney's memoirs of the hectic events through which he lived while American Consul General at Munich during the war comprise a record at once unique, individual and rich within the meaning of what newspaper men describe as "the human interest element."

There has been a crying need for a book by an American writer setting forth the truth of what took place during those days of anxious suspense when the British and French had cut Germany off from all contact with this country through a monopoly of the Atlantic cable service and were terrifying the heart of America in the early days of the war with harrowing accounts of American tourists mowed down with machine guns and American women made the playthings of drunken German officers on their way to the front. Mr. Gaffney in a most workmanlike manner has torn the veil of secrecy from these fantastic mysteries which, thanks to the self-imposed censorship of the metropolitan press upon all news favorable to the Central Powers, have remained mysteries to this day.

If it should be insinuated against his work that it bears marks of partisanship, it should be clearly understood that Mr. Gaffney has not a drop of German blood in his veins. More-

over, prior to the World War he was held in such high esteem by those whose policies and proceedings he subjects to critical scrutiny in these pages that he received the insignia of the Legion of Honor from France and the Officers' Cross of Leopold II from Belgium, for friendly services to those countries. He cannot, therefore, be charged with undue prejudice against those States. In 1905 he was nominated by President Roosevelt to be American Consul General at Dresden; in 1908 he was reappointed by President Taft and subsequently promoted to Munich by President Wilson.

How impartially he discharged the duties of his office during the critical days of his incumbency is substantially attested by the fact that when the British government and press bitterly attacked him in a spirit of bullying arrogance, amounting almost to a challenge of our sovereignty, the British colony in the Bavarian capital, including the British Relief Committee and the sister of Sir Arthur Nicolson, then permanent Under Secretary of the British Foreign Office, protested against the aspersions cast upon him and complimented him on the correctness of his course of action.

The Entente nations were particularly vindictive in their attacks on those who were opposed to the program of war—witness the assassination of that good man Jaures in France for raising his influential voice against the war-makers—and after America entered the struggle on the side of the Entente, our country fairly excelled her allies in suppressing free speech and a free press. A notable instance in this record is the case of the author of this book.

He has, however, had the consolation of living to see the views he held sixteen years ago (and has, I may say, heroically advocated ever since) now upheld by the leading statesmen and historians of all the principal countries concerned in the war.

After his enforced resignation from the consular service in October, 1915, by order of President Wilson, Mr. Gaffney

devoted himself, heart and soul, with voice and pen, to the object of bringing about a negotiated peace and to arousing the German peoples and those of the neutral States to the cause of Irish freedom. In these efforts he associated himself with Sir Roger Casement during the Irish leader's visit to Germany, and in the same cause attended the International Socialist Peace Conference in Stockholm in the summer of 1917.

In the meantime, in 1915 and 1916, he paid visits to the United States, crossing on neutral vessels. The country was still nominally neutral, and Mr. Wilson was making his campaign for re-election on the seductive parole, "He kept us out of war!" His presence on neutral ships, however, did not protect the author nor his property from the robbery of his papers and other effects at the hands of English officials at Portsmouth and Kirkwall. His treatment forms one of the graphic episodes of his remarkable recital.

A number of the chapters herein embodied were printed in *The Progressive Magazine* during my editorial direction. I may, therefore, modestly claim that to my urgent persuasion of the author to commit his extraordinary experiences to paper and have them printed, this book owes its inspiration.

FREDERICK FRANKLIN SCHRADER

New York City, October 10, 1930.

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ENGLAND, IRELAND

WILSON AND THE WAR



CHAPTER I
THE AMERICAN PRESS IN THE WAR

The Austrian note to Serbia is very stiff in its terms, but would not any country be angry which believed that the heir to its throne had been assassinated by a conspiracy of army officers in a neighbouring country and in furtherance of a design to detach one of its provinces from its allegiance. . . . It is deeply regretted that Russia had decided to encourage Serbia to resistance to Austria. . . . Russia's threat of war against Austria is a piece of sheer brutality.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, JULY 25, '14

On July 31, four days before England declared war on Germany, the great conservative organ, the London *Daily Telegraph*, declared that it appeared to be Germany's aim to limit the area of conflict to Austria and Serbia without entangling other Powers.

WHEN the great war broke out in August, 1914, I was occupying the post of Consul General of the United States in the city of Munich. I had already for about eight years served my government in the same capacity in Dresden, the capital of the kingdom of Saxony, so that my official experience with the Imperial, Saxon and Bavarian governments extended over a period of some ten years. Previous to my entrance into the consular service I had made the customary visits to the chief cities and health resorts of the Germanic Empire, but had indulged in no special study of the country and its institutions. Naturally my official position gave me excellent opportunity of informing myself, and I endeavored to the best of my ability to acquaint myself with the causes which had contributed to the remarkable material and commercial prosperity which had developed since the Franco-Prussian War. I feel therefore with-

out any egotism that I am qualified, from personal knowledge, having been on the spot, to express my opinion as to the origin of the great war, certainly to a greater degree than the New York newspapers' writers. The majority of these enterprising publicists had never been in Germany, or, in fact, in Europe. They were superficially informed, if not entirely ignorant, of the language, literature and history of the Germanic states. As to political conditions, their judgment was entirely influenced by the English press, as of course they were unable to read the German newspapers. Such, however, is the power of the written word that it was possible for this small group of men to influence public opinion in the United States to a degree that is almost unbelievable.

From the beginning of the war Germany and Austria-Hungary were the victims of such a monumental campaign of lying and misrepresentation that it may with truth be stated that the Teutonic cause never received a fair hearing from the American people. I shall deal in greater detail with this phase of the question later on. I shall confine myself merely to stating now that the English foreign office with all its secret treaties, conventions and agreements with France and Russia would never have succeeded in driving the unfortunate peoples of Europe into this bloodiest of all wars if their reason and judgment had not been sapped by the notorious Northcliffe papers and their servile following in America.

The Bridled Press

IN referring to the New York press in particular, I am reminded of a judgment passed upon it before the war by a noted editor, John Swinton, during the annual dinner of the American Press Association. He said:

THERE is no such thing as an independent press in America, if we except that of little country towns. You know this and I know it. Not a man among you dares to utter his honest opinion. Were you to utter it, you know beforehand that it would never appear in print. I am paid one hundred fifty dollars a week so that I may keep my honest opinion out of the paper for which I write. You too are paid similar salaries for similar services. Were I to permit that a single edition of my newspaper contained an honest opinion, my occupation—like

Othello's—would be gone in less than twenty-four hours. The man who would be so foolish as to write his honest opinion would soon be on the streets in the search of another job. It is the duty of a New York journalist to lie, to distort, to revile, to toady at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread, or what amounts to the same thing, his salary. We are the tools and the vassals of the rich behind the scenes. We are marionettes. These men pull the strings and we dance. Our time, our talents, our lives, our capacities are all the property of these men—we are intellectual prostitutes.

In this, incidentally, we have not only a confession, but a self-judgment—light thrown upon the characteristic morale of a commercialized civilization. It reads: *dishonour before discomfort*. After the war broke out, the American press, under the tutelage of the English, and its financial and political employers, attained the nadir of degradation and, in succumbing utterly to the wild excesses of the war-mania, became openly criminal.

Origin of the "100-Percent" American Patriotic Editors

It is of interest to recall at this moment the origin of those "100-per cent" American patriotic editors who directed the campaign of English propaganda in America during the war and who succeeded in demoralizing and corrupting the public opinion of our country.

James Gordon Bennett of the New York "Herald"

THE most notorious of this band was the late James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*. This man was born in New York, the offspring of a Scotch father and a respected Irish mother. The son however did not inherit the sturdy qualities of his parents and in his early years his manner of life gave them grave concern. After the death of his father, Bennett's conduct and habits became intolerable in New York, so he abandoned the city and took up his residence in the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. For over forty years he lived at the French capital, his time being about equally divided between French countesses and Russian grand dukes. Bennett in his private conversations did not disguise his contempt for his country and used to declare that he regarded it as the greatest punishment to be compelled to spend

a couple of days a year in America. It is one of the saddest reflections upon the patriotism and intelligence of the American people that such a character was able to amass millions from a newspaper which he edited from Paris and which had not a spark of genuine American sentiment.

About the New York "World"

THE New York *World* was controlled by the sons of Josef Pulitzer, who came from Hungary, and who from an humble position worked his way into the front rank of journalism as the profession was understood at that time in the United States. It was currently reported during the war that there were several Englishmen connected with the editorial staff. Indeed it may with truth be said that there was hardly a leading newspaper in the United States at that time without one or more English propagandists in the editorial sanctum. This paper called for war in strident terms and the annihilation of the hated Hun, and was supposed to be the mouthpiece of President Wilson.

The New York "Times"

THE New York *Times* was controlled by a Jewish family named Ochs which originated in Mannheim, Germany. This Anglo-American paper became a mouthpiece of the publications of Northcliffe, who set the pace for the war propaganda of the allies, and rivalled them in denouncing the country from which the Ochs family had sprung.

The brother of the proprietor endeavored to disguise his German origin by adding the name of "Oakes" to his name, and is now known as George Washington Ochs Oakes. I am glad to say that popular rumor attributes a change of heart to him, and in *Current History*, of which he is the editor, he has featured the war-guilt question, and is giving Germany and its new government a fair deal.

The "Evening Post"

THE *Evening Post* was another of the wartime Anglophile papers which contributed to the dethronement of reason in America during the war. It was purchased in the early seventies by a German named Hilgard who changed his name to Villard and whose son, Oswald (born in Wiesbaden), later became chief editor. Oswald, to the astonishment of his friends, succumbed to the entente propaganda and lost no opportunity of attacking and misrepresenting the land of his fathers. Towards the close of the war he sold the paper to a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, who were the fiscal agents of the British Empire. The conditions of peace promulgated at Versailles, however, proved too much of a dose for Oswald, and in the *Nation*, which he continued to edit, he fiercely attacked its proceedings and subjected Wilson to severe castigation.

Since the peace, Oswald Villard has made such atonement as was possible by publishing the truth about Germany and exposing the myths and fables which he had swallowed with such avidity during the war.

The New York "Tribune"

THE New York *Tribune* was the property of the Reid family and during the war was edited by the son of the late Whitelaw Reid. The latter, it will be recalled, was for many years ambassador in London, where, like Page, he lost his American character and became entirely Anglicized. His daughter married a British Peer who was a member of the British War Ministry. Ogden Reid, its wartime editor, was educated in England, and it may with truth be said that during the war the paper was more English than the London dailies.

The New York *Herald* and New York *Tribune* have been merged since the war and under the present ownership and management a finer and more just spirit is manifested in its editorial page which has won the paper a deserved popularity.

*General Tone of Papers of the Country Set by the
Metropolitan Press*

UNFORTUNATELY these editors set the tone for the newspapers of the country, which, with a few exceptions, after a brief period of quasi neutrality yielded to the power and influence of the metropolitan press and joined in the campaign of lying and misrepresentation of Germany and her allies.

Situation in Other Sections of the United States

IN Chicago an Englishman named Jim Keeley obtained control of the *Chicago Herald*, and was the chief mouthpiece for the pro-British propaganda in the West. In New England there came into note a newspaper almost unheard of before, *The Providence Journal*, which became the official organ of the British espionage organization in America. Its London-made news was telegraphed broadcast over associated press wires to all newspapers caring to publish it. The editor of this paper was an Australian, with a criminal past, named John R. Rathom, now dead. Toward the close of the war his lies became so flagrant that he was called before the Department of Justice in Washington and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of the swindles and fakes he had printed in his paper. To the everlasting disgrace of the Associated Press it must be recorded that even after his exposure as a liar, by the officials of our government, he was continued for over a year as a director of that Institution.

Revelations of British publicists and the debates in Parliament in recent years have verified the suspicions of those Americans who charged the pro-British propaganda with responsibility for the frenzy and hysteria which projected our country into the conflict. It is well to recall that these brave and patriotic Americans by their attitude risked being tarred and feathered or thrown into prison as public enemies or German spies.

*Sir Gilbert Parker's Statement Regarding the Nature and Scope
of Pro-British Propaganda in the United States*

SIR GILBERT PARKER, the famous novelist, was perhaps the first to publish a detailed account of the nature and scope of British

propaganda in the United States in the early years of the war. In an article in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1918, he made this rather naïve confession:

PRACTICALLY since the war broke out between England and the Central Powers, I became responsible for American publicity. Among my activities was a weekly report to the British Cabinet on the state of American opinion, and constant touch with the permanent correspondents of American newspapers in England. I also frequently arranged for important public men in England to act for us by interviews in American newspapers. [He here states that more than two hundred leading men and women in England were engaged in this work.]

Among other things, we supplied three hundred and sixty newspapers in the smaller states of the United States with an English newspaper which gave a weekly review and comment on the affairs of the war. We established connection with the man in the street through cinema pictures of the army and navy, as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc., and by letters in reply to individual American critics, which were printed in the chief newspaper in the state in which they lived, and were copied in newspapers of the other and neighboring states. We advised and stimulated many people to write articles; we utilized the friendly services and assistance of confidential friends; we had reports from important Americans constantly, and established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college professors, and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population. We asked our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches, debates, and lectures by American citizens, but we did not encourage Britishers to go to America and preach the doctrine of entrance into the war. Besides an immense private correspondence with individuals, we had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y.M.C.A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs and newspapers.

That the work of Sir Gilbert was appreciated by his government is indicated by the following extract from a speech delivered in the House of Commons, August 5, 1918, by Lief Jones, M.P.:

AMERICA was perhaps best done, and that was due to the fact that Sir Gilbert Parker, a former member of this House, was responsible for a great deal of correspondence to America *long before America intervened in the war*, and at a time when it was very important that we should make Americans understand our position.

The Northcliffe Mission

AFTER our country declared war against Germany, the notorious Northcliffe headed a mission to this country for the purpose of still further stimulating entente publicity. Mr. A. Mason, M.P., speaking on March 11, 1918, in the House of Commons on this subject said:

OFFICES of the Northcliffe mission were established in New York. The commission was recruited by Lord Northcliffe from his own offices at home, and it was arranged that a supply of news should be furnished the American press.

In an article on this debate the well-known London journal, *Foreign Affairs*, says:

MR. MASON further stated that the mission was composed of "2,000 persons or more." This fact becomes extremely interesting to thoughtful Americans when they recall the statement of Frank Anstey, member of the Australian Press Commission on the Western Front, who tells in his book, *Red Europe*, that it was admitted in the House of Commons that *British publicity-agents in the United States numbered 4,500.*

It is in the Parliamentary debates that there reposes a considerable amount of material bearing upon British propaganda which has gone almost unnoticed. Possibly when Americans learn to take account of their most intimate dangers, they will look into the matter of British propaganda. On 7 November, 1918, Mr. Pringle, M.P., discussing official propaganda before the House of Commons, made this revelation concerning the methods of British official publicity:

"On Monday there appeared in certain newspapers an article written by an officer of the Ministry of Information entitled 'From War to Peace.' It appeared *in extenso* in Lord Northcliffe's newspapers, the *Times*, and the *Daily Mail*, and in one or two other newspapers it appeared in a somewhat shortened form. In the *Daily Mail* and the *Times* it was accompanied with this intimation:

"This article is appearing today in the leading papers in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, India, the British Dependencies, the United States, South America, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Japan and elsewhere."

"There is further intimation that the article will be circulated in Germany during the present week."

On the same day, 7 November, 1918, another member of the House of Commons, Mr. Hazelton, referring directly to British propaganda in the United States, said:

"When I was in America this year columns and columns of articles from the London *Times* and letters in the London *Times* were cabled to the United States and were published in the papers there. Columns were touched up of the grossest and unfairest libel upon Ireland and were published in some of the newspapers."

The House of Commons appears to have devoted a great part of the session on 7 November, 1918, to a discussion of Government propaganda in war-time, for we find Colonel Hamersly also speaking on this subject:

"... To my mind *an end is put to the Ministry of Information, and if activities are withdrawn from America, it will be not short of a calamity to this country.*"

For anyone in the United States to suggest in 1918 that the war was brought on by conflicting interests or commercial forces was next to treason, although President Wilson in public speeches so stated.

I have dwelt at length on this subject, because the same British propaganda (not so brazenly and openly, it is true) is insidiously at work in our country today and is a serious menace to the policies of our government and our institutions.

The Nature of the German People Before the War

As I have previously said it had been my good fortune to live in Germany for ten years previous to the war, during which period I mingled intimately with all classes of the people. I motored extensively throughout the country which brought me in contact with the simple life in the smaller towns and villages. Before the war, a more peaceful and home-loving people than the German it is not possible to imagine. The history and traditions of the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic wars, which had made their country the battleground of Europe, had taught them the horrors of war, and from the Kaiser to the humblest peasant the nation had no other purpose than the maintenance and safeguarding of the heritage, in defence of which so much blood had been shed.

English Attitude Which Made War Inevitable

FOR twenty years previous to the war I had been an annual visitor to England where I had also a large acquaintance with all

classes of the people. I was both astonished and amused at the growth of hostility to Germany, and my English friends did not hesitate to declare to me with perfect frankness and customary English bumptiousness that it was necessary to destroy Germany or England would lose her commercial predominance in the world's market. The question with them was purely one of trade supremacy and with English arrogance they spoke as if they required no allies to accomplish their purpose. I used to laugh at their fears and their boasts and assured them that no spirit of hostility outside of trade rivalry prevailed in Germany, but my views were not taken seriously and they one and all declared that in the interest of British trade Germany must be destroyed. Little did I dream at that time of the conspiracy that England had woven to mobilize the world against the Germanic peoples and how she would succeed in using the blood and treasure of other nations to accomplish her criminal ambition.

Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

AFTER the sending of the ultimatum by Austria to Serbia the widely read newspaper *John Bull* interpreted popular opinion in England as follows:

WE see no reason whatever why the peace of Europe should be imperilled by Austria's just demands, and we wish the old Emperor the satisfaction of seeing, ere his long reign comes to an end, the "elimination" of the Serbian Nation. At any rate we most solemnly protest against the shedding of a single drop of English blood to save these people from the Nemesis which threatens to overtake them. . . . The foul murders of the Archduke and Archduchess by a Serbian assassin, in the pay of Belgrade plotters, encouraged and supported by the press and people of the country, have at last precipitated a just vengeance and as an alternative to extinction by the Austrian sword the Serbians are rightly subjected to such a humiliation of atonement as has seldom been inflicted on a nation; and we would not lift a finger to write a word to save them. We repeat what we said a few weeks ago—*Serbia must be wiped out*. Let Serbia be removed from the map of Europe!

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian-Hungarian throne, and his Consort were foully murdered by Serbian assassins in the streets of Sarajevo. This crime was the culmination of a series of acts of terrorism during



ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND AND FAMILY
(1912)

preceding years directed and carried out by Serbians, against the officials in Austria's Slavonic provinces. The Serbians were a semi-civilized race, whose history was a record of blood and revolution.

About the beginning of the last century she won her independence from Turkish rule. Since then Serbia has been governed by the descendants of two swineherds named Karageorgwitch and Obrenovitch. Most of her rulers died by violence at the hands of their subjects and her world war King, Peter I, owed the crown to the assassination of his predecessor.

Ten years previous to the Sarajevo Crime, Serbian military officers murdered while sleeping in their beds, King Alexander and Queen Draga and flung their mangled and naked bodies out of the Palace windows. This appalling tragedy gives evidence of the brutal instincts of the Serbian race.

There was no reason or justification of any kind for the murder of the Archduke and his wife. It has been generally admitted that he was well disposed toward his Slavonic subjects and had taken an active personal interest in their political progress and social welfare.

Notwithstanding the urgent demands of the Austrian authorities, no honest effort was made by Serbia to seize the conspirators who had plotted the Archduke's murder, and were openly living in her territory. The Serbian Press, as was acknowledged by the English Ambassador in Vienna and the English Minister in Belgrade, behaved in a most shameless manner, praising the deed and glorifying its perpetrators as patriots and heroes.

No other country in the world would have acted with the forbearance and restraint displayed by Austria after this terrible tragedy. The eminent English historian Lowes Dickenson has correctly interpreted the world's opinion when he wrote (*International Anarchy*, p. 463): "I do not believe there was a State in existence, that would not, under similar circumstances, have determined as Austria did, to finish the menace once for all by war."

Instead, however, of immediately crossing the Serbian frontier and by force compelling the Government to seize the band of assassins responsible for the crime, which would have met the approval of Europe at the time, Austria waited four weeks

before definitely taking action. This was her cardinal blunder as it afforded Russia, France and England time to recover from the moral shock of the crime, and to determine how their different ambitions and interests might profit from it. The Austrian Ministers never believed it possible that any civilized State would take up the cause of the Serbian bandits. They recalled that after the murders of King Alexander and Queen Draga, the British Government refused, for several years, to send an Envoy to King Peter's court because that Sovereign attached to his person the officers who had aided and abetted the crime.

The Press and public opinion of England loudly condemned the callous indifference of the Belgrade Cabinet toward the Austrian demand for the seizure of the conspirators and bitterly denounced those responsible for the murder of the Archduke.

Even the great conservative and jingo organ, the *Daily Telegraph*, declared as follows:

IN this country we have no sympathy whatever with Serbia. We reprobate all the crimes which are associated with the Serbian Military Party. On general grounds we are inclined to believe that Austria-Hungary is justified in demanding full and prompt repudiation of all those nefarious schemes which have politics as their excuse and murder as their handmaid.

Austria was therefore under the illusion that dynastic solidarity as well as horror, would preclude the royal families of Russia and England from giving any countenance much less support to the Serbian assassins and their traditions or blood and anarchy.

The public opinion of the world immediately following the death of the Archduke also justified the dual Monarchy in deciding to inflict a salutary chastisement on this criminal State. Austria contemplated merely a local war and if she had not been interfered with by Russia, backed up by France and England, her punitive expedition directed against a government of cut-throats, would have been finished in a few weeks and humanity spared four and a half years of bloodshed and devastation.

Russia, a similar half-civilized power, separated from Serbia by three hundred miles, without any justification, treaty obligation or honest political excuse, took up the cause of the assassin

kingdom, and, to their everlasting shame be it said, she received at once the open support of France and later the secret support of England. And so was the world plunged into anarchy almost imperiling civilization, in the interest of the most disreputable Government and race in Europe. The claim advanced by Russia that she came forward as the protectress of all Slavs is characterized by Lord Bertie the British Ambassador in Paris as "rubbish and an exploded pretension."

On August 3rd, the eve of England's Declaration of war on Germany, the *Manchester Guardian*, the great Liberal newspaper, declared as follows: "If we are jockeyed into fighting, it will be for a cause supremely disreputable. Of all the smaller powers of Europe, Serbia is, quite decidedly, the one whose name is most foully daubed with dishonor. The record of her rulers and her policy in recent years is unmatched as a tissue of cruelty, greed, hypocrisy and ill faith. If it were physically possible for Serbia to be towed out to sea and sunk there, the air of Europe would at once seem cleaner. Disgraced in many things before, she has a disgracefully bad cause in her quarrel with Austria, the cause of a harbourer of murderers against friends of the murdered persons. And what Serbia was amongst the lesser powers, Russia, so far as her Government is concerned, is among the great ones." It is inconceivable that France and England called forth their armies and fleets in such a cause and in behalf of such Governments. Their action cost the lives of over 10,000,000 men, not to speak of 30,000,000 wounded and diseased.

Is it any wonder that leading statesmen and historians of the Entente, of America, and the neutral countries are now confessing that a great wrong has been done the Austrian Government by charging it with major responsibility for the war? This change of opinion has been strengthened by the recent publication in Vienna of the Austrian war documents, which prove that the conduct of the Vienna Cabinet, notwithstanding the awful provocation, was characterised by patience and forbearance.

After America joined the allies our government gave much material aid and counsel to Serbia. We loaned her about \$60,000,000. She was referred to in our Press and pulpit as "heroic little Serbia" and Austria was accused of having embarked on

a freebooting expedition to grab the territory of "a devoted people." At the peace Conference President Wilson and his advisors vigorously supported all Serbian territorial claims at the expense of her neighbours, and thus contributed to almost doubling the frontiers and population of this assassin State. Wilson's two delegates on the "Commission on War Responsibility" (Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott),* were largely under the influence of the wily Vesnich, Serbian Minister at Paris, who furnished them with documents for use against the Central Powers which, having served their purpose, were subsequently exposed as fabrications. Since the close of the War memorials in honor of the murderers of the Archduke have been erected in Serbia and a tablet eulogizing Princip, the chief assassin, was unveiled this year with chauvinistic ceremonies on the spot where he committed the crime. Since America has been restored to sanity our editors and "Creel" Professors are putting the soft pedal on all incidents recalling our almost forgotten connection with "heroic little Serbia," hence the small attention paid by our publicists to this shameful celebration.

It is safe to say, however, that America's association with such an ally as Serbia in the World War and our exploitation of her cause is a chapter in our history not to be recalled with honor or with pride.

* Appendix IX.

CHAPTER II

EXCITING DAYS IN MUNICH

We feel something like contempt for the diplomatic governments of Europe, whose statesmen have thus far ignobly failed to dispel the clouds of war. We are still of the opinion that William II has used his influence with Vienna and St. Petersburg to prevent the spread of the conflagration. Possibly the task of averting a European war is beyond his great powers.

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL, AUG. 1, 1914

In 1913 the late President Taft said of Emperor William "The truth of history requires the verdict that considering the critically important part which has been his amongst the nations, he has been, for the last quarter of a century, the greatest individual force in the practical maintenance of the peace of the world."

ON July 25, 1914, Austria sent her ultimatum * to Serbia. Subdued excitement reigned in Munich, but it was still quiet everywhere as only a few people believed that the Serbian conflict was the spark that was to set Europe afire and involve the nations in a bloody and cruel war. Calmness prevailed in the streets, the cafés, the restaurants, the shops and business houses and banks showed customary activity and at the American Consulate General, the daily routine work was being performed as usual.

General Alarm When Russian Mobilization Announced

THE announcing of the Russian mobilization and the declarations of war on the part of Germany against Russia and France,

* This ultimatum has been severely criticized for its harshness by the Entente Apologists. It is a mild document, however, as compared with England's ultimatum to Egypt of November 23, 1924, after the murder of Sir Lee Stack."

and Germany's invasion of Belgium followed in quick order—the people's nerves were strung to high tension. Unrest developed in the private and public places and great excitement in the streets, especially in the shops dealing in the necessities of life. The banks, through the great declines on the various bourses, were being swamped with orders to sell and sell again. But still at the Consulate, comparatively little was to be seen and felt of the broken world's peace and none of us realized the catastrophe that was about to overwhelm Europe. The work at my office, both in quantity and nature, had as yet been little affected by the happenings in the political world, excepting that a few more Americans called to have their passports looked after and nervously ask some questions pertaining to their physical and financial safety.

Startling Change When England Declared War on August 4

BUT what a change on August 4 when England had declared war on Germany!

Many of my readers have witnessed the opening of the decision game in the baseball championship series and the very often frenzied crowd that besieged the gates for admission when the time of starting the contest drew near; those who had that opportunity can easily picture to themselves the manner in which the offices of the Consulate were stormed on the memorable day of August 4, 1914, and for a good three weeks thereafter. In both instances intense excitement was rampant; but while in the baseball game it was excitement born of joy and pleasure and the anticipatory sense of triumph in the victory of the favored team, it was in this case excitement produced to a large extent by nervousness, anxiety, fear and hysterics. The rooms of the Consulate, my own office, the long corridor, the wide staircases, leading from the hall below to the doors of the Consulate, the hall itself were packed to the utmost capacity by a surging and struggling mass of men and women, and even the sidewalk in front of the consular building was at times obstructed to such an extent as to force pedestrians to step off the *trottoir* in order to be able to pass on. At one time one member of my clerical staff counted forty-five persons in his own

office and twenty-two in my office; to count those in the other rooms, in the halls and on the stairways was beyond human skill.

During this period more and more Americans and a number of British subjects who were placed under American protection arrived in Munich each day until their number was swelled to about 5,000, which is a conservative estimate, based upon the records of the registers at the Consulate. They all congregated in Munich because this city was quickest to reach from various health and pleasure resorts in Switzerland, the Tyrol, from Karlsbad, Marienbad. Besides, in Munich and its consular district alone, there permanently lived about eight hundred American citizens and quite a number of British and Serbian subjects. To add to our difficulties, the newspapers had published a false statement to the effect that the United States had taken over the protection of Russian interests, which brought down on us a motley crowd of Muscovites who at that time were most unpopular with the populace. All these people—American, British, Serbian—called at the Consulate, many of them twice or three times each day, desirous to be informed minutely about various questions which, naturally, seemed to be of utmost importance to them. They were not satisfied with the information given them by others who had called before them; no, they were determined to acquire all news direct from my staff, thus greatly and unnecessarily augmenting our heavy task. Merely to show how many irrelevant questions we were asked, which at once will become obvious, I am giving in the following short list:

1. Whether Americans would still be allowed to leave Germany.
2. Whether their money and goods could be taken along in case permission to leave should be granted.
3. Whether they were obliged to postpone departure until the German mobilization had ended or whether they could leave on special trains during that period.
4. The quickest route to Holland or Scandinavia and the time the trains left.
5. The name of the boats leaving from Dutch, Scandinavian or English ports, the date of their sailings and whether accommodations could still be had and where.

6. Whether it was safe to travel across the North Sea or the Channel on account of mines and warships.

7. Whether it would be dangerous to speak English in the streets and public places, or read newspapers printed in the English or French language.

8. Whether they had to report to the local police.

9. Whether America would also enter the war.

10. Whether money could be obtained from America.

11. Whether letters could be sent to America and whether in this case they had to be censored by me or by the post office and what postage would be required.

12. If there would be sufficient food in Germany or if the government would seize everything available, etc.

I could go on retailing questions of a similar nature directed at me and my staff, but the foregoing will suffice to prove how many of the people had lost their heads and all consideration of the feelings of others. To be sure, it may be pardoned under the prevailing abnormal conditions, but it was most trying to us who for obvious reasons were unable to answer all these and other foolish questions. And while the questioners themselves, or at least many of them, were nervous and often peremptory, we ourselves had to be calm and civil, trying to satisfy them as best we could and to rid them of their anxieties. It was at times hard work and most exasperating, but without wishing to laud ourselves, I think we did our full duty.

Some Perplexing Problems of Americans

THE main demands, however, were for the giving of visés of passports or letters of identification. But few were in possession of passports and still fewer were in the position to show identifying documents proving them to be American citizens.

Many bona fide Americans figured as witnesses regarding the American citizenship of the applicants who were without the required documents. However, quite a number were not as fortunate to receive such assistance and their cases had to be referred to our Embassy at Berlin or by cable to the Department at Washington. This passport business, together with the many

questions to be answered, would have kept us all busy, but other matters had to be attended to just as promptly and attentively.

Detail Work Piles up in the Consulate Office

A FEW days after the war had broken out, hundreds of telegrams were pouring into my office from all parts of Austria, Germany and the neutral countries, but foremost from the United States anxiously inquiring about the whereabouts and welfare of friends and relatives—also if they required financial assistance and in many cases urging them to return to America or to proceed to a neutral country. In some cases it was easy to deliver the messages to those for whom they were intended, if they were in the city. Still a note had to be sent to each of them requesting them to call which, of course, necessitated quite some work. Every caller at the Consulate was required to register and to add his or her place of residence. From this book of registry, every evening the names and addresses were entered into another book, indexed, opposite to same the date of message received, the notification sent and the date of the party's call. Also, such being the case, the change of address, the party's removal to another town, the departure to America including date of sailing and name of port and ship were added. And from this book a separate card index was compiled comprising all details already referred to. As mentioned, it was not difficult, though attended with quite some labor, to deliver the messages under such conditions. In many instances the people inquired for had not yet been at the Consulate or were in different parts of Germany, or even still in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, or had already left for countries then at war with Germany. Then, of course, official inquiries had to be made in different quarters of the various countries where the respective persons were supposed to sojourn. Sometimes the required information was obtainable, but usually success was denied. Apart from these telegrams, return messages had to be forwarded to the senders; hence more telegrams and cablegrams were dispatched than received. All this lasted for many months and so did the disbursement of moneys to Americans and British, who had previously requested their friends or bankers by cable to forward specified amounts.

As those and other funds were sent by the Department of State to our Embassy at Berlin to be distributed thence to the different American Consulates in Germany, receipts always had to be made out in quadruplicate and had to contain all the manifold details, in connection with the payment made. Often as many as twenty-five and thirty sets of three receipts were written out in a single day.

During the first month or so my office received many letters each day from Americans for transmission to the United States or England via the Embassy at Berlin, until the instruction came from Washington that such correspondence could no longer be accepted.

In addition to all the work described in the foregoing and many more minor incidents which it would take too long to illustrate singly, the regular consular duties had to be attended to—although in a reduced volume. None the less, a good many invoices (also in quadruplicate) had to be prepared and certified. The making up of the quarterly accounts (in triplicate) was particularly most complicated and required much valuable time owing to the new items of expense to be properly classified and, above all, the ever-changing rate of exchange.

My small staff and I had to work unceasingly to master our enormous task during those days, but we accomplished it and, I may add, as conscientiously and as painstakingly as we could.

Special Trains Carry Americans to Ports

DURING the second half of the month of August, 1914, the Bavarian government at my request ran special trains out of Munich to Holland for the benefit of the Americans who desired to return to America by that route. These specials left every other day, often in two sections, to accommodate all such travellers and, naturally, the work in connection therewith devolved largely upon my Consulate. This work was most intricate and also required a great deal of patience and forbearance on our part. I cannot too highly praise the courtesy and kindness of the Bavarian officials and the members of the city government during those critical days. Oberbuergermeister von Borsch and other

high civic dignitaries were always present at the station to bid good-bye to the Americans, presenting bouquets to the ladies.

How This Office Handled All Anxious Inquirers

At this point I beg leave to remark that, whatever my political convictions or my views as to the origin of the war may have been, my treatment of the British subjects who came to me for advice and assistance did not differ in any way from that accorded to my own countrymen. I willingly endeavored to help every one of them in words and deeds as best I could, and in most cases I surely succeeded. Wherever I failed it was due to circumstances beyond my control. I am making this frank statement, not because I, myself, believe so, but solely because I received many flattering testimonials to that effect from the entire British colony at Munich, not only at that time, but also long after. To be sure an insignificant few may have found fault, and even misrepresented me, but their actions were based either on malevolence or grudge for an imaginary wrong or on pardonable ignorance of the insurmountable difficulties to overcome connected with their individual cases. It is very easy to criticize and to find fault, especially if unaware of the obstacles which first had to be removed in order to clear the path towards the accomplishment of the end in view.

Of course every intelligent traveler knows that our British friends, almost without exception, take the view that the governmental machinery of any country in which they may be sojourning should be at their immediate disposition, without regard to the convenience or necessities of other nationals similarly situated. They assume the attitude of having an international nationality while at the same time aggressively asserting their own. Many people of prominence who were in Munich during August, 1914, and later on have testified that I always treated everybody who approached me with due consideration, in my official and private capacity, and tried to further the applicants' interests to the best of my ability.

The best testimony is that of witnesses who knew the facts. I may mention a few of those who wrote me personally and to the state department upholding my attitude: Dr. Harry A.

Garfield, son of the late President Garfield, president of Williams College, Williamstown; Mrs. Mary Lord Harrison, widow of General Benjamin Harrison, former President of the United States; Mrs. Irene B. Sheridan, widow of the famous General Philip Henry Sheridan; Honorable John C. Bell, attorney-general of Pennsylvania; Professor George B. McClellan, former mayor of New York, and for ten years member of Congress (Mr. McClellan was the son of the noted Union general); H. L. DeForrest, son of the former president of the American Red Cross; Mrs. Bayard Taylor, widow of Bayard Taylor, the author and poet who was formerly American Minister at Berlin; Mrs. Clementina Bemelmans, who was sister of Sir Arthur Nicolson,* then permanent Under Secretary in the British Foreign Office; H. C. Adler, nephew of Adolph Ochs of the *New York Times*; Mrs. Eleanor C. Walsh, the wife of United States Senator Walsh, of Montana. It would take up too much space to record the names of all the Americans and British subjects who came to my defense. My lawyer filed at the State Department a book of sixty pages containing the letters and protests against Wilson's action which were made by my countrymen and the British subjects who knew the facts. So much for that subject for the present.

I was ably supported in my work by Vice-Consul General Schuessel and his efficient assistant, Mr. Spiegelberg. A number of Americans also volunteered their aid and gave most valuable assistance in the office. I cannot at this date recall all their names, but I especially remember the self-sacrificing work of Mr. Henry L. DeForrest, Mr. Edward Roesler, Dr. Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College. The well-known American correspondent C. George Krogness, manager of the Chicago Bureau of the *Baltimore American* was in Munich during these exciting days. After his return to the United States he wrote a series of articles in regard to his experiences in Germany at the outbreak of the war. From the *Baltimore American* of September 27, 1914, I quote the following extract which is devoted to my activities during the period of mobilization:

* See Appendix.

*Tribute to Mr. St. John Gaffney, American Consul General
in Munich*

I WANT to pay a tribute to an American official abroad, Mr. T. St. John Gaffney, who is the American general consul in Munich. Previous to that he served eight years in Dresden. I met other American consuls abroad, but none of them, so far as I was able to learn, from my own experience or from other Americans abroad, measures up to the high standard of efficiency shown by Mr. Gaffney during this time of trial and terror to Americans stranded in Bavaria. The consulate was always open, week days and Sundays, early and late, and usually packed with excited and terrified Americans, from the old lady with the agony pinch on her upper lip, who tremblingly claimed she was to be arrested as a Russian spy, to that ubiquitous American individual who is always looking for trouble and gets it. He met the distress of every American with a warm sympathy, understanding and helpfulness. His calmness allayed the fears of the timid and fearful. He organized relief committees; he directed their work; he secured from the Bayerische Vereins Bank a promise to redeem letters of credit and travelers' checks issued by American banks in good standing. He secured the co-operation of the civil and military authorities to relieve and protect American citizens. In one day he raised over 11,000 Doll. from the American colony and tourists for the relief of needy Americans and the Red Cross. His home was the refuge of Americans and English who were entrusted to his care. If we went to the consulate in the morning Mr. Gaffney was there. If we went in the evening he was there—ever ready and always at the service of the citizens of these United States. I am glad to pay him this tribute, for it is one well deserved.

I have heard often from Americans and read frequently in American newspapers about the inefficiency of the American consular service in Europe, but if the other consuls measure up to 50 per cent of the efficiency of Mr. Gaffney, we should be proud of our consular service. And Mrs. Gaffney was just as untiring, kind and sympathetic and energetic as her husband. I believe almost every American who was in Munich during those trying days feels as I do about Mr. Gaffney's efficiency.

C. GEO. KROGNESS,

Manager Chicago Bureau *Baltimore American*.
Baltimore American, Sunday, September 27, 1914.

CHAPTER III
THE AMERICAN COLONY
REFUTES WAR LIES

"Will it be contended that it is so vital an interest to Russia that Serbia should escape punishment for the misdeeds of her subjects that Russia must needs plunge Europe into the horrors of a general war! The proposition is manifestly absurd. On Russia, therefore, rests the primary responsibility if a war which is and could remain local without anyone being much the worse becomes the scourge of civilisation. . . . If Russia makes a general war out of a local war it will be a crime against Europe. If we, who might remain neutral, rush into the war or let our attitude remain doubtful, it will be both a crime and an act of supreme and gratuitous folly."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, JULY 30, '14

ON August 4, I was called by telephone very early in the morning to the Bavarian General Headquarters. The officer in charge after apologizing for the early summons told me that the government in view of the British declaration of war was extremely anxious to protect American citizens from annoyance.

"You know," he said, "that our people are justly embittered against England, and it is possible, as your countrymen speak the English language, that they might be mistaken for subjects of that country. Now, Mr. Gaffney, the authorities wish to co-operate with you and will support you in every way in giving ample protection to your nationals."

A Plan for Distinguishing Americans from English

HE then suggested that Americans should wear a boutonnière of the stars and stripes to distinguish them from the English.

"May we add a little blue and white ribbon (the Bavarian colors)?" I asked.

He cordially grasped my hand and said, "Certainly."

Many English visitors and members of the English colony learning of this arrangement started to decorate themselves with the American colors. I prohibited this as it was highly improper and irregular, with the result that some of the British nourished a grievance against me.

The Prevalent Opinion of Americans in Munich

IT is no exaggeration to say that 95 per cent of the resident Americans and those who passed through Munich during the mobilization were friendly to the German cause. They also believed that England was responsible for the outbreak of the war, because she had failed to exercise proper pressure to restrain the warlike measures of Russia and France which culminated in the Russian mobilization. In this opinion I shared and I am glad to say that my early judgment has been proven correct by the publication of the official Russian dispatches and other evidence which has come out from Entente sources during recent years.

Formation of the American Truth Society

NATURALLY the members of the local American colony were very much excited by the false news which appeared in the Anglo-American press about conditions in Munich. They organized the American Truth Society which did excellent work in refuting the journalistic swindles which were flashed throughout the world by the notorious Northcliffe and Reuter agencies, which had the audacity to state that Americans in Munich were badly treated. The answer to Northcliffe's lies was quickly given by the Americans when they reached Rotterdam en route for home. The New York *World* of August 22, 1914, published the following dispatch:

THE American refugees at Rotterdam were unanimous in their praise of the Germans, and the closest canvass by the Associated Press correspondent disclosed not a single instance in which an American had a complaint to make.

Other American papers printed this acknowledgment of German courtesy and civility:

Americans Acknowledge German Civility

SEVEN hundred and eighty-seven citizens from thirty-six States who returned home from Germany towards the end of August have sent an open letter to President Wilson, in which they acknowledge and praise the care bestowed upon them by individual Germans as well as by the German government. Everything was done to accelerate the return of those wishing to travel home, and in spite of the financial strain, money was paid on letters of credit by a large number of banks.

*Attitude of the Americans as Reflected in a Message to the
Lord Mayor*

IN the third week of August an influential deputation of Americans waited upon the Lord Mayor of Munich, Dr. von Borsch, under the chairmanship of Professor George Stuart Fullerton and handed to him the following resolution:

A GREAT number of Americans at present in Munich, including representatives of the permanent colony and others passing through the city, wish at once to give expression to their deep sympathy for Germany in the present crisis and their enthusiastic admiration for the courage and self-control of the German people. In addition, we recognize with thanks the hospitality and sympathy which the people of Munich have manifested to so many Americans in the present critical days. If there is a public or private way by which we can show our sympathy and recognition we beg of you to have the goodness to inform us how we can help.

The deputation also informed the Lord Mayor that the colony had placed itself at the service of the Red Cross and had inaugurated a collection for the foundation of an American hospital.

A Statement from the American Truth Society

THE American Truth Society was also extremely active in counteracting the Entente propaganda. I have preserved the following resolutions which were adopted at different meetings and widely circulated in the neutral states and in America.

THE AMERICAN TRUTH SOCIETY of Munich invites a protest from their compatriots at home against the conduct of England in calling to her aid occidental and African savages to fight her battles in Europe. England has imported from India hordes of Ghourkas, Sikhs, Afridis, and other tribes and France, emulating her example, has brought over from Africa the barbarous Senegalian Negroes, and the savage Turkos. Americans!! Can you contemplate without scorn and horror this introduction into Europe of thousands of heathen Africans and Asiatics to slaughter your Christian kinsmen?

The American Truth Society of Munich most strongly protests against the fabrications appearing in a section of the American press in regard to the conduct of the war and the conditions existing in Germany since its outbreak.

The society profoundly regrets that journalistic swindles and palpable fakes of a self-evident character, supplied by French and British agencies, should have been made the basis of editorial opinion in so-called reputable American newspapers.

We appeal to the justice of our compatriots to spread the truth of this war and its origin, and to give their sympathies to the valiant defenders of the German Fatherland, who are fighting the battle of *European civilization* against Russian and Serbian barbarism, French vengeance and English greed.

We invoke a protest from the President of the United States against the introduction by Great Britain and France of African and Asiatic savages into this conflict in the infamous design to destroy German commerce and German civilization.

We call the attention of our government to the outrages which are being inflicted by the English authorities on American citizens traveling on neutral ships to and from the United States; and we emphatically protest against the general and defiant breaches of neutrality perpetrated by England on neutral steamers in all waters.

The American government should not view with complacency or without protest the action of Canada in projecting herself into a European war, which does not *concern the interests or territory of the American hemisphere*. Such a policy will naturally invite reprisals by European Powers on the North American Continent which will not *only menace our peace and security* but also imperil the cardinal principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

We denounce the articles appearing in the pro-British-American press, especially the *New York Times* and *New York Herald*, as *perversions of facts and based on misrepresentations of the most apparent character*; and we warn our countrymen not to form their judgment from such publications.

We recall to the attention of our countrymen the statements recently signed by numerous noted American correspondents who had accompanied the German army in Belgium and France and who *on their honor*

declared that the stories of German cruelties and atrocities were absolutely without foundation.

Disappointed and baffled at the non-success of her conspiracy to destroy Germany, England seeks to divert attention from her perfidy and her defeats by arousing hostility in neutral lands through circulating stories of German atrocities, which, upon investigation by impartial judges have been proven mere fabrications.

England having control of the cables has conducted a campaign of slander for the purpose of influencing international opinion and will not permit any news favorable to the German cause to be sent without garbling or directly falsifying the dispatch.

In conclusion we invoke a protest from our countrymen against the introduction by England of Japan into this European war, which involves a menace to American interest and the supremacy of the white race, and we denounce her calling to her aid occidental and African hordes to crush western culture and German civilization.

A Demonstration by Americans in Berlin in September

IN the first days of September a great demonstration of Americans was held in Berlin to which I was asked by the American colony to transmit the following telegram:

I SEND you by request the following telegram which has been adopted at an influential meeting of Americans in Munich, including Dr. Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College, and which has been sent to the American press:

"Americans in Bavaria are indignant over the false news and misrepresentations which are appearing in the American newspapers in regard to the treatment of foreigners and the attitude of Germany in the war. All Germany without consideration of party is united in the defense of the fatherland. The war news published in America is false and the Munich papers have published statements from the English and American chaplains in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich expressing their disapproval and indignation at the misrepresentations of the Entente and American newspapers. A committee of the English colony here has taken the same attitude."

From my personal experience during the last three weeks with over two thousand Americans and three hundred English subjects, I cheerfully endorse the above telegram.

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

Regarding Mrs. Henry Clews' Statement of Her Treatment in Munich

AN interview which was held with Mrs. Henry Clews upon her return to America and which was published and aroused great

indignation in Munich was answered by the American Truth Society in the following letter:

Munich, Germany
October 29, 1914

EDITOR, New York *Evening Sun*, New York.
Sir:

In the *Evening Sun* of October 9 appears an extraordinary interview with Mrs. Henry Clews telling of indignities she had suffered in Munich. I am the secretary of a committee of Americans in Munich, whose object is to run down lies which are being printed in American papers. If we attempted to answer all the anonymous lies which are published, we would not have time to eat or sleep so we limit ourselves to exposing the falsehoods which come from persons who back up their statements with their names.

About 5,000 Americans passed through Munich during the early weeks of the war and no complaint has been made by any of them as to their treatment. On the contrary, numerous newspapers have arrived here from America, containing interviews with returned Americans with flattering reports of the kindness and courtesy of the Munich authorities. Among those giving such testimony were Mr. Harry Garfield, son of the late President Garfield, Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, widow of the late President Harrison, Mrs. Philip H. Sheridan, widow of the famous general, and many others, highly commending the courtesy and attention which they received. It is true that the fingerprints were taken of all foreigners, but only once during their stay in Munich, and this occurred after it had been done in London and Paris. Mrs. Clews says her fingerprints were taken every day. I am sorry to question the lady's veracity, but her statement is untrue. She also says soldiers thrust bayonets into her face in the streets of Munich, although she wore the American flag. This is also untrue. German soldiers do not carry guns with their bayonets exposed in the Munich streets, and if they did, they would be in marching order, under the command of officers, and would not concern themselves about Mrs. Henry Clews. This lady also states that German officers told her that it was true that in Belgium they marched women and children in front of the troops. It is unnecessary for me to characterize this statement as absolutely false. In the first place, such a thing never occurred, and in the second place, if it did happen, German officers would not boast of it.

I have inquired at the Continental Hotel, which this lady patronized, as to whether she made any complaint of these extraordinary incidents during her stay in Munich, and I have also inquired at the American Consulate General which she visited, and in both places I was informed that Mrs. Clews made no charge of any kind about her treatment but was very much annoyed because the Germans marched with such haste on her beloved Paris, which interfered seriously with her plans of getting there.

I hope this lady will be a little more careful in the future about

her statements, for if there had been a vestige of truth in the same, the American Consul General would have been acquainted with the facts and given her every protection.

AMERICAN TRUTH SOCIETY.

I might state here that Mrs. Henry Clews was the wife of Henry Clews who was born in England and prominently identified with English finance in New York.

American Colony Publishes a Daily Newspaper

WITH characteristic American enterprise the Americans in Munich started a daily newspaper during the thrilling days of the mobilization. Naturally there was a great hunger for news and as most of our countrymen did not read or speak German a journal in their own language was a godsend to them. There lies before me a page of the issue of September 19, 1914, which I have fortunately preserved and which contains the editorial of the day. It will show more clearly than any words of mine the spirit of our countrymen in the Bavarian capital at this tragic time and where their sympathies lay.

No. 16.

Saturday, 19.

September, 1914
Price Twenty Pfennigs
AMERICAN NOTES IN
MUNICH
Published Daily
Leslie Dayton Bissell,
Manager

Munich During the War

THE self-possession and calmness that has prevailed in this city of 650,000 people during the first six weeks of this gigantic European upheaval has been to us Americans marvelous. Attacked on all sides, and with its supposed ally, Italy, on the point of declaring war against Austria, if ever in the world's history was a time for a people to become hysterical and violent against citizens of hostile nations, now seemed the time for the mob element to assert itself.

But the chivalry and culture of the German nation was triumphant. In Munich, as in all other German cities, even during those exciting first days of the war, when every morning brought a new declaration of war from a new enemy, no violence was done. Americans were made to feel that the government was giving them special

care, and when the ten days of mobilization were ended the most luxurious trains were placed at our disposal to carry 2,000 of our people to Holland.

The quietness of the German people and their deep earnestness has been most impressive. But not a sign of faltering, always an unswerving trust in God and the justice of their cause; complete confidence in Kaiser, King, and army, and an undying love for the fatherland. What an ineffaceable impression has all this made on our minds! These wonderful stirring days, when the deepest emotions of the soul are touched and the true worth of men are tested by fire, come to us mortals only once in a lifetime. What a privilege to be witness to this wonderful outburst of exalted national feeling!

Hark, there are shouts without, the rumble of heavy wagons and the clatter of hoofs. It is an artillery regiment off to the front. Our rush the people to say "good bye." The enthusiasm is beyond words. Fair women crowd into the streets to grasp the hands of the mounted officers. The answering look of leaders and men means victory—or death.

The adieus at the railway station as the war trains leave are full of inexpressible sadness but at the same time there is on the face of the departing soldier the look of triumphant joy in being able to fight for the fatherland.

The school-houses are filled with volunteers who are being fully equipped; 30,000 in Munich alone at the end of the first week, 2,000,000 in all Germany at the end of the first month of the war. Can this immense number be equipped? In the arsenals and supply houses are 2,000,000 uniforms, marching boots of the best leather, guns, ammunition—all is ready. And this in addition to the 4,000,000 of men already in the field. On the practice grounds there is constant drill, marching, maneuvering, a mighty mass of stalwart men. And the *esprit de corps* of officers, soldiers, men, women, and children—who can describe it! Almost every woman in Germany is at work either in the Red Cross, raising money for its support, making garments for wounded soldiers, caring for the poor families of soldiers, opening their houses as day nurseries; even in the department stores and cafés the clerks and waitresses spend their spare minutes in knitting or sewing. And this is the people who, our friends in England would have us believe, have wantonly made war!

And we liberty-loving Americans—could there be any doubt as to where our sympathies lie! In their hour of trial and suffering under the injustice of being misrepresented in the world's opinion, what a pleasure for a delegation of Americans to go to the Mayor of Munich and tell him that our hearts were with this brave and wonderful people.

Now the standing army and first reserves are fighting in France in the victorious army of Crown Prince Ruprecht; the Landwehr has been equipped and has gone forth to battle; part of the oldest reserves,

the Landsturm, has departed for the military occupation of conquered Belgium. These men of forty march with the mien of heroes, and marching they sing with more volume even than their younger brothers. The volunteers will soon be in shape to replace their fallen comrades at the front.

Later came daily trains of wounded. They are received as heroes. And soon appeared the list of dead and wounded. With what feelings of dread and apprehension are these black-bordered columns scanned by anxious mothers and weeping wives! These are scenes that touch our heartstrings.

But the joy of victory is there also. The laconic telegrams from the front are strikingly few in number—but all are true. The general staff announced that no false victories would be given out, no defeats withheld. At this writing exultation is triumphant. German cannon thunder before the fortifications of Paris; a Russian army has been wiped out of existence, leaving 90,000 unwounded prisoners in German hands.

And the exultation is as serious and calm and as deeply felt as the first determination to fight to the death. No shouting, no bands of music, no flamboyant boasting in the press. At times when a great victory comes, a mighty throng assembles before the palace of the venerable and beloved King. He speaks thus: "Let us thank God for his favor in granting us victory, but let us also pray for strength of endurance to calmly meet occasional defeat and the loss of our loved ones." In this solemn moment tears stream from every eye.

Mr. Gaffney's Letter to Secretary W. G. McAdoo Regarding the War—Written on November 9, 1914

ON November 9, 1914, I felt it my duty to write the following letter to a member of Wilson's cabinet, Mr. McAdoo, with whom I was very well acquainted. Knowing his close relations with Wilson, I hoped that he would lay my views before him. Naturally I had officially sent similar communications to the Secretary of State but I was sure they were never brought to the attention of the President. If the advice I gave on November 9, 1914, had been followed by Wilson, the war would have been finished within a year. Europe would have been spared an additional three and one-half years of bloodshed and some 10,000,000 lives would have been saved. Furthermore there would have been no occasion for our intervention and the sacrifice of 75,000 American lives and the expenditure of 60,000,000,000 American dollars.

Munich, Germany
November 9, 1914

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The European War has now been going on for three months and I feel it to be my duty to express to you some views in regard to its progress and duration.

Germany, has, at present, some 5,000,000 men under arms at the various fronts, protecting lines of communication and holding captured territory. In the various camps and garrisons of the Empire there are at least 3,000,000 of men in reserve and under training. There is not a foreign soldier on German soil, except 500,000 captive military prisoners, whose number was officially announced in yesterday's papers.

The war in the west, as you are aware, has been conducted in Belgium and France. The Kingdom of Belgium is in the possession of the Germans and is being administered by them. In France the field of operations extends from the Swiss frontier to within thirty miles of Paris and as far north as Calais.

This immense tract of the French Republic, including many cities, is occupied by the German army. The country and most of its towns and villages have been, in a large measure, destroyed and years of peace will not repair the damage which has been done.

Up to today, the tenth day of November, the German arms on land and sea have been successful, notwithstanding the terrific odds against them.

I may here state that the deliberate lies and the false news cabled from London and published in our leading newspapers, with apparent approval have not only discredited American journalism abroad but have seriously compromised our good repute with the Germanic and neutral peoples.

Now the question arises: How long will this war continue? In my judgment the answer to that question rests with the United States government as the most powerful neutral. It was most unfortunate that the section of the American press, to which I have referred, adopted the British views at the outbreak of the war, and is continuing to favor her cause during its progress. Nothing has contributed more to strengthen the backbone of England than this alleged American sympathy and the endorsement of our leading newspapers. This has been accentuated by the notorious pro-British propaganda which, it is alleged by Americans and others, is being actively encouraged by our Embassy in London. Ambassador Page has not interpreted to the British government and press the strictly neutral attitude prescribed by President Wilson in his declaration of neutrality. Unfortunately our apparent indifference to the numerous breaches of neutrality and the various outrages inflicted on American citizens by the British have left on the public mind an erroneous impression as to the firmness and strict impartiality of our government. Grave com-

plaints on this subject have appeared in the Continental press and our submissiveness has been a source of criticism and condemnation, not only from foreigners but also from Americans living abroad. England, in my judgment, is the only barrier to peace. The manner in which that country has been exercising her power on the seas since the outbreak of the war, has become a crime which should no longer be tolerated. England is fighting not only against those nations with which she is actually engaged, but she is carrying on an economic war against the neutral states and is insisting on rights to which she has not the slightest claim. It should be made clear to England that she is pursuing a bad policy in attempting to draw the whole world into the war. She should be made to realize that the conviction is gaining ground that the day will be a blessing to Europe and the rest of the world when the seas will no longer be ruled by one power's scepter but by the comity of nations.

This war will continue for a couple of years unless our country adopts a firm stand on the "freedom of the seas." If by moral suasion it was made clear to Great Britain that she was in danger of losing the friendship of the United States, there would be a quick *volte face* in that country and peace would be rapidly restored. We have ample justification to exercise appropriate pressure, for England's attack on the neutral trade of the world is causing grave losses to the United States. Furthermore, her systematic violation of international law, her contempt for our protests and her shallow indifference and disrespect of the rights of neutrals certainly give us every reason for adopting a strong and vigorous policy.

As a peace-loving nation, we have also every right of protest against England's incitement of other nations to project themselves into this war. She has utilized the basest means to induce Italy to violate her neutrality and she is now urging the little Republic of Portugal to join her forces in a cause in which Portugal has no concern. Belgium today is the victim, not of Germany but of England and she would gladly sacrifice Portugal in the same manner to her own ends.

We have already had just reason for making a dignified protest when England incited Japan to attack Kiao-Chou, an opportunity which unfortunately we did not grasp. The world is now awaiting with anxious expectation as to what the attitude of the United States will be if Japan refuses to give back Shantung to China, and I hope for our credit among the nations that our government will exact the fulfillment of her promise.* There is another legitimate reason for our

* In his evidence before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Lansing testified: "President Wilson alone approved the Shantung decision; the other members of the American delegation made no protest against it." The cession to Japan was generally bitterly assailed and Wilson's acquiescence in the crime severely criticized.

friendly intervention. Already England has landed in Europe over 200,000 Asiatics, collected from the jungles and mountains of India, to fight her battles on the European continent against German culture and Christian civilization. This is a scandal and a horror that should be denounced by all Americans, particularly those whose forefathers were scalped by the red Indians, hired by her during the war of the Revolution.

Now is the time for a virile and determined policy of our government to *maintain the freedom of the seas*. The longer it is delayed, the more difficult the situation becomes. It is the opinion of many that if the war goes on under the present conditions the United States may be drawn in to such an extent as to become a party in the struggle. To avoid such a calamity, I therefore, most earnestly urge you to impress on the President an attitude by our government which will relieve the continental mind of its present impression that our sympathies are with the enemies of Germany and Austria. This would clearly demonstrate to England that by her course she is endangering the friendship of the United States, which is her greatest asset in the present war.

I implore you, therefore, to give serious attention to these views which I write you with a clear knowledge of the European situation and the solemn conviction that the American people will uphold the President in a firm and unflinching policy of strict neutrality.

Very faithfully yours,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

CHAPTER IV
AMERICAN RED CROSS HOSPITAL
IN MUNICH

Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness, to all concerned. . . . The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S DECLARATION OF NEUTRALITY,
AUGUST 19, 1914

IN the early days of the mobilization the colony organized "The American Relief Association of Munich" with the following officers:

THE AMERICAN RELIEF ASSOCIATION OF MUNICH

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Consul General Gaffney, Honorary Chairman
Professor Fullerton, Chairman
Leslie D. Bissell, Treasurer
Frau Dr. Nordhoff-Jung
Rev. G. T. Crocker
F. H. Watriss

The executive committee designated the following committees to work under its general direction.

I. RELIEF

Rev. G. T. Crocker, Chairman Rev. W. W. Jennings
F. M. Josselyn



NURSES OF THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL IN MUNICH
IN THE CENTER IS DR. FRANZ A. R. JUNG, OF WASHINGTON, CHIEF
PHYSICIAN. MRS. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY IS ON THE EXTREME LEFT NEXT
MRS. DR. JUNG

II. NEWS

Leslie D. Bissell

Rev. G. T. Crocker

Rev. W. W. Jennings

III. BANKS AND CREDITS

F. H. Watriss

Some days later by action of the executives of the Relief Association an independent committee of the Red Cross was constituted with the following membership:

Consul General Gaffney, Chairman
P. Max Kuehnrich, Treasurer
J. Milnor Coit
C. G. Miller
Frau Dr. Nordhoff-Jung
Mr. Crosby

I at once called a meeting of all Americans in Munich which took place at the Bayerischer Hof, and at which over \$10,000 was subscribed toward the founding of a hospital for the sick and wounded. The following article translated from the *Neueste Nachrichten*, the leading Munich daily, gives an account of the opening of this great institution.

OPENING OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS HOSPITAL IN MUNICH

IN the beginning of August a number of Americans held a meeting at which Consul General St. John Gaffney presided at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof for the purpose of expressing their sympathies for the German people and at the same time establishing an American Red Cross Hospital in that city. Mrs. Dr. Nordhoff-Jung, of Washington, a member of the Red Cross Central Committee at Washington, D. C., gave a very interesting lecture on that occasion and succeeded in rousing the co-operation of the large and enthusiastic audience. The plans then formed have now at last been realized—the hospital is an established fact. The spirit of charity and philanthropy, so characteristic of the American people, has shown itself in its best light, not only among those who have made Munich their home, but also among those American travelers, who during the memorable days of mobilization have found in Munich a haven of safety and whole-souled hospitality. They have not forgotten these days and have shown their gratitude by contributing largely to this benevolent institution.

The new American Hospital is centrally located and has been established in the former Pension Zierhut in Prinz Ludwigstrasse 9.

A large American flag floating over the entrance and the emblem of the Red Cross on the building indicate its purpose. All the rooms of the four upper stories have been arranged and equipped for the treatment of the wounded soldiers. These rooms are large and airy and contain usually two or three beds and are very commodiously furnished. Besides these, there are rooms for the nurses, bathrooms on every floor, and an operating and surgeon's room. The ground floor contains lounging rooms for reconvalescents, a reception-room, reading-, dining- and smoking-room and an office for the military officer. The kitchen and the storerooms are in the basement. The entire building is steamheated and lighted by electricity. A lift facilitates the access to the different floors. Instead of the usual bare courtyard so common with Munich houses there is a large and beautiful park and spacious garden immediately adjoining the hospital in the rear which have been generously placed at the disposal of the wounded soldiers by the proprietors, Prince George, of Bavaria, and Privy Councillor Hesselberger.

At present the hospital can accommodate seventy patients and it is noteworthy to mention that by the expressed wish of the committee only private soldiers will be received as patients. The medical supervision is exercised by Dr. Franz A. R. Jung, a German-American, who for twenty years has practiced medicine in Washington, D. C., and who has volunteered his services for this work of charity. He is ably assisted by his wife, who personally instructed about forty-five American ladies who have volunteered to act as nurses. Among these there are names shining brightly in the world of music and now even a hundred times more brightly, as their bearers are freely giving their services for the entertainment of the patients. We mention only such stars as Mrs. Charles Cahier, Geraldine Farrar, Maude Fay and Edith Walker. All expenses without exception are borne by the hospital, which pays also for the full equipment and rent of the building.

At the opening of the hospital the following guests were present:

The Surgeon-General Dr. Helferich, Baron von Lutz, from the foreign office, Chief Surgeon Dr. Hofbaur, General-Lieutenant Obermayr, Lord Mayor of Munich Dr. von Borscht, and a number of physicians; Baroness von Velics, the wife of the Austrian Ambassador; Countess von Bernstorff, wife of the German Ambassador in Washington. The guests were received by the committee of the Red Cross Hospital consisting of T. St. John Gaffney, Dr. M. Coit (Concord, N. H.), Dr. Charles G. Miller (New York), P. M. Kuehnrich (Los Angeles), Mr. Crosby (Duluth, Minn.), Mrs. Dr. Nordhoff-Jung (Washington). Mrs. T. St. John Gaffney, the wife of the Consul General, is the chairman of the Ladies' House Committee.

The visitors spoke in the warmest and most eulogistic terms of the practical and perfect arrangement of the hospital down to its last detail, the beautiful, cosy and airy rooms, and declared with one

accord that the wounded soldiers would here find a home, than which there exists none better in the land.

A telegram was received from Mr. Hermann Sielken, the German-American philanthropist, living at Baden-Baden, who though unable to assist personally at the opening declared that he "felt highly honored to have his name placed on the list of patrons as he takes the deepest interest in any effort made by Americans to relieve the evils of war." The American Ambassador at Berlin, Mr. J. W. Gerard, has telegraphed to the treasurer of the Red Cross Hospital, Mr. P. Max Kuehnrich, that he would gladly assume the protectorate over the American Red Cross Hospital.

The Royal family are manifesting a keen interest in this American hospital. Already Her Royal Highness, the Duchess Karl Theodor, mother of the Queen of the Belgians, has visited it and Prince Ludwig Ferdinand, who is himself an M. D., has also inspected the institution a few days ago.

A Dreadful Blot on the History of the Red Cross

THIS hospital carried on its mission of mercy and charity until shortly before our entrance into the war. I am sorry to say that long before this occurred the British government placed an embargo on the transit of medicine, supplies, lint, bandages and rubber gloves to Germany, and the Central Committee of the American Red Cross in Washington made but a feeble protest against this gross violation of the Geneva Code.

But the greatest and darkest stain which rests upon the American Red Cross was the selection of Henry P. Davison during the war as its chairman. This man was the partner of J. P. Morgan, the fiscal agent of the British government, who was subsidizing the Allies to prolong the war and financing the American factories to supply them with guns, shells and other munitions. To the everlasting disgrace of the American Red Cross, Davison ordered that *no attention be paid to the German wounded and that no medicines of any kind be sent them*. This abominable doctrine, violating the cardinal principle of the Red Cross, was proposed in cold blood by Davison, its American chief, and has never to my knowledge been disavowed by the American Red Cross in Washington.*

* See Appendix.

Some Loyal Americans in Munich Who Supported the Red Cross

I AM glad to be able to publish at this late date the names of those Americans who were identified with the American hospital in Munich and who gave liberally of their time, money, and services to its support.

AMERICAN RED CROSS HOSPITAL

PATRONS, PATRONESSES AND VOLUNTARY AIDS

His Excellency Jas. W. Gerard, American Ambassador, Berlin.
 Her Excellency Countess von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C.
 Her Excellency Countess von Velics, Vienna.

COMMITTEE

T. St. John Gaffney, New York (Consul General, Munich).
 Dr. Jas. Milnor Coit, Concord, N. H.
 Dr. Sophie Nordhoff-Jung, Washington, D. C.
 Dr. Chas. G. Miller, New York.
 Wilson J. Crosby, Duluth, Minn.
 P. Max Kuehnrich, Treasurer, Los Angeles, California.
 Physician in Chief Dr. Franz A. R. Jung, Washington, D. C.
 Prof. Dr. Barkan, Otto, Leland Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.
 Mrs. Cahier, Chas., New York.
 Baroness von Cerrini, Marietta, Munich.
 Mrs. Chapmann, J. S., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Mrs. Coit, J. M., Concord, N. H.
 Mrs. Crosby, W. S., Duluth, Minn.
 Countess von Courten, Carlo, Boston, Mass.
 Miss Farrar, Geraldine, Boston, Mass.
 Miss Fay, Maud, San Francisco, Cal.
 Mrs. Gaffney, T. St. John, New York.
 Mrs. Glogauer, Caroline, Chicago, Ill.
 Frau Excellenz von Hammestein, née Miss Grisworld, Boston, Mass.
 Mrs. Heynsen-Jahn, Helma, Los Angeles, Cal.
 The Misses Homer, Homer, La.
 Mrs. Kuehnrich, P. M., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Countess H. Lerchenfeld née Wyman, New York.
 Miss Lindsay, Marion, St. Louis, Mo.
 Mrs. Matushka von Keil, Luisa, Vienna.
 Miss Meinecke, Minnie, San Francisco, Cal.
 Mrs. Miller, Chas. G., New York.
 Miss Moor, Frances R., Toledo, O.
 Miss Pattee, Loueen, Chicago, Ill.
 Miss Pohl, Ilse, Ch., Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Raymond, Geo., New Orleans, La.
Miss Ruhl, Emma H., Hoboken, N. J.
Mrs. Major Rupprecht, née Taylor, Worcester, Mass.
Mrs. Scharrer, Ed. A., née Busch, St. Louis, Mo.
Baroness Schedel v. Greifenstein, Bertha, Solln.
The Misses Schwarz, San Antonio, Tex.
Miss Shaw, Marion, St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Sielcken, Herman, Baden-Baden-New York.
Miss Stevens, Helen, Detroit, Mich.
Miss Walker, Edith, New York.
Miss Whitney, Emma, S. Phila, Pa.

The Visit of the King and Queen of Bavaria to the Hospital

ON the fifth of November their Majesties, the King and Queen of Bavaria, accompanied by several members of the Royal family visited the hospital. The following account of their visit appeared in the press:

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS HOSPITAL OF MUNICH VISITED BY THE ROYALTIES OF BAVARIA

THE American Red Cross Hospital at Munich was today honored by the visit of the King and Queen of Bavaria and their daughters, the Princesses Adeldunde Wiltrude and Hildegard. They arrived promptly with their attendants at noon and were received by Consul General T. St. John Gaffney, and the Treasurer of the Hospital, Colonel P. Max Kuehnrich of Los Angeles, Cal.

The following ladies and gentlemen of the Hospital staff were then presented by Mr. Gaffney to their Majesties: Mrs. T. St. John Gaffney, wife of the Consul General, Mr. and Mrs. P. Max Kuehnrich, Mr. and Mrs. Dr. Nordhoff-Jung, Mr. and Mrs. Crosby, Dr. Coit and Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Miller, Consul Deputy Fred. Schussel.

The distinguished party, conducted by the Consul General and the committee, were then taken through the entire building, which had been richly decorated for the occasion with choice plants and flowers. The King and Queen showed the keenest interest in the institution, visiting every room, speaking with great kindness to the wounded soldiers of whom there are about fifty in the building and distributing among them flowers, chocolate and cigars.

In some specific cases of gunshot wounds, in which the bullets had passed through the arms, legs, the back and the throat, or in which a shoulder-blade had been shattered, he desired specific information of the accompanying chief surgeon Dr. Jung, and showed himself very conversant with the nature of these wounds.

After a stay of nearly two hours the Royal Party left with the

assurance of their deep appreciation of the splendid and warm-hearted hospitality which is being extended by the Americans to the brave sons of the Fatherland.

Among the distinguished guests was Mr. Michael Francis Doyle, special Diplomatic Agent of the State Department at Washington, who was also presented to the King and Queen, and their Majesties most graciously signed their photograph for him as a souvenir of their visit.

The American Red Cross Hospital has also been recently visited by the Duchess Karl Theodor, mother of the Queen of Belgium, Princess Arnulf of Bavaria, Prince and Princess Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria, Princess Del Pilar, Princess Gisela, the daughter of Francis Joseph the Emperor of Austria.

An Interesting Newspaper Account

THE following interesting article about the conditions in Munich during the mobilization appeared in the New York *Evening Post*, September 12, 1914:

GETTING NEWS IN ENGLISH

HOW AMERICANS IN MUNICH GOT OUT A DAILY PAPER

ALL ABOUT THE WAR FOR FIVE CENTS, AND IN A LANGUAGE THAT EVERYONE COULD READ WITHOUT APPEALING TO THE HOTEL OFFICE—TYING BAVARIAN RIBBONS ON LITTLE AMERICAN FLAGS

COPIES of the first seven issues of *American Notes in Munich*, a daily newspaper started by Americans stranded in that city, have reached the *Evening Post* through the courtesy of Miss Evelyn V. Hartridge, of Plainfield, N. J. They reveal the American characteristic of getting together and making the best of a situation, and they also present an interesting light on the attitude of our countrymen who are detained in one of the biggest and most representative cities of Germany.

The task of publishing the newspaper was delegated by the American committee to a sub-committee on news, whose chairman was Elbert Francis Baldwin. Other members of this committee were Prof. Morris Jastrow, Dr. Bissell, and Judge Irving Lehman. Mr. Baldwin undertook the duties of editor, and the selling end was cared for by several young men of the American colony, who hawked the papers in the various hotels and pensions in the most approved newsboy style. Copies sold for 20 pfennigs (five cents) each, and an early issue of the paper announced that "any sum remaining after the bare expenses of publication will be given to the Red Cross."

In the minds of many of the thousands of Americans who had been stranded in Munich without anything more solid than rumors to



MR. AND MRS. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY ESCORTING THE KING AND QUEEN OF BAVARIA
AND THE ROYAL PRINCESSES THROUGH THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL IN MUNICH
MR. MICHAEL FRANCIS DOYLE, WHO REPRESENTED THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, IS
STANDING BETWEEN THEIR MAJESTIES

digest, the appearance on Tuesday, August 11, 1914, of the first *American Notes in Munich* was an event subordinate only to the invention of the printing-press. Even the stimulus of war news had not proved sufficiently potent to resurrect the smattering of German learned in college days, and for the first ten days they had been forced to appeal to the Herr Portier of their hotel for translations from the German papers. Now that a daily paper with four solid pages of English was offered for sale, they rushed to secure copies.

AMERICANS MAKE DONATIONS

AT the same time that the meeting was called to organize relief for Americans in the city, their countrymen, not yet certain as to their own fate, began to make contributions to the German Red Cross. Within ten minutes 25,000 marks was pledged by Americans present at the first meeting at the Bayerischer Hof on August 7. The next Sunday 850 marks was raised at the American Church, and the first issue of the paper, August 11, was able to announce that the fund had grown to 44,000 marks. Two days later the speech of Oberbürgermeister von Borscht in the Municipal Council was reported, and contained acknowledgment of a gift of 10,000 marks from Henry Kaufmann, of Pittsburgh. One-half of this amount went to the Red Cross and the other half was placed at the disposal of those who were caring for the wives and children of soldiers.

The issue of August 15 contains the following paragraph, headed "Princely Gifts":

"Mr. James Loeb, an American citizen living in Munich, has made the noble gift of 10,000 marks, to be divided between the work of the Red Cross and that of the Children's Relief Committee.

"Mr. Hermann Sielcken, of Messrs. Crossman Bros., New York City, has subscribed to the well-known town of Baden-Baden the sum of 10,000 marks a month for the relief of the poor."

The generosity of the Americans also took more personal forms than the mere pledging of money. Volunteers met daily at the American School for Girls to sew for the soldiers, and some of the hotels gave their reception rooms and service for benefit teas. The following paragraph from the issue of August 14 shows how self-protection was combined with the raising of money:

"The Munich police recently recommended that all citizens of the United States should wear an American flag. The Hon. T. St. John Gaffney, our Consul-General, tactfully added a suggestion of paying a tribute of admiration to the German Empire through brave Bavaria by adding a bit of Bavarian colors. With characteristic energy, Mrs. Gaffney at once secured a supply of small flags and ribbon and began selling them in the rooms and corridors of the Consulate. In this labor of love she was assisted by her guest, Frau Wilhelm Kuntzel-

mann, Mr. and Mrs. Morris, and a group of ladies who industriously cut ribbon and helped handle the small coin received.

"The receipts from this enterprise, from twenty pfennigs to ten marks being paid for a flag, have netted two hundred marks. This money is to be used in the support of poor children whose fathers have gone to fight for their country and their homes."

FUNDS FOR A HOSPITAL

FROM the beginning it was planned that the Red Cross fund should be devoted to the equipment of a hospital for wounded. A suitable building was picked out, and the committee was waiting only for a sufficient amount to be assured. In order that this hospital should be as distinctly an American contribution as possible, Frau Dr. Sophie Nordhoff-Jung, chairman of one of the Red Cross committees in Washington, announced a series of eleven lectures on field work and the care of the wounded. Although there was naturally insufficient time to instruct volunteers so thoroughly that they could become trained nurses and attendants, these lectures were intended to fit Americans for the duties of helpers to a trained hospital staff. An attendance of over 250 American volunteers was secured. The instruction was given in English, but the German names and classification of wounds and treatments were used, so that the coöperation between American helpers and German doctors and nurses might be simplified.

As absorbing as was the community life organized among the Americans in Munich, the real interest lay in the news from the war zone and in the possibilities of securing transportation. When one considers the total absence of news-getting facilities, it is surprising that *American Notes in Munich* was able to supply such full and authentic reports as it did. Through personal dispatches from the Embassies in Berlin and Rome, and from the Legation at The Hague, Mr. Baldwin was able to print news of the *Tennessee* and the steps which the American Government was taking to relieve Americans stranded in Europe. The source of the war news was not given, but it was probably obtained through the courtesy of the German papers.

Care was evidently given in editing war reports, and where rumors could not be verified, they were excluded or printed with the notice that they could not be confirmed.

In the meantime the committee on transportation was devoting its energy to securing train service to some port as an outlet for the refugees in Munich. By August 13 this committee was able to give "authentic information" that Rotterdam would be the port for all Americans in Germany.

Finally, on Saturday, August 15, the welcome news was published that the Bavarian Government was planning to send special trains north and south on three days of the following week. The first-class trains would consist of sleepers, diners, and baggage cars. The second-

class trains would be made up of day cars only, but diners would be added, if possible. If not, eating accommodations would be guaranteed en route. The trip to Holland would take from three to four days.

And right on the same page with this welcome announcement the members of the committee took a definite stand as to their own position in the following notice: -

"The members of the American Relief Association of Munich wish it known that they do not expect to leave this city on the first special train. They propose to remain until the last."

SPECIAL TRAINS READY

THE next day was Sunday. Not having facilities for comic and pictorial supplements, *American Notes in Munich* was not printed. But excitement and rumors about the specials grew all day. Monday morning the following notice set every one packing feverishly:

"A special train composed of first-class sleeping cars, dining and baggage cars will leave the Hauptbahnhof, Munich, on Monday and Tuesday, August 17-18, at 6:05 P. M. Price of tickets, including sleeping cars, Mks. 104 to Amsterdam. Checks for seats will be given. Each first-class train will accommodate about 170 persons.

"A special train composed only of second-class cars (not sleepers), dining and baggage cars will leave the Hauptbahnhof, Munich, on Wednesday, August 19, at 6:05 P. M., and, if necessary, on Thursday, August 20, at 6:05 P. M.

"Price of tickets Mks. 50.80 to Amsterdam. Four persons only will be placed in a compartment. Checks for seats will be given. One, two, or three persons may take an entire compartment by purchasing four second-class tickets. The second-class train will accommodate about 250 persons."

The newspaper was only one of the activities of Americans in Munich. On Friday, August 7, a meeting of Americans was held at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof, and an executive committee was appointed, at the instance of Consul-General T. St. John Gaffney. This committee consisted of Prof. G. S. Fullerton, chairman; Dr. Leslie D. Bissell, principal of the Coit School for American Boys in Munich; Henry L. de Forrest, of Plainfield, N. J.; President H. A. Garfield, of Williams College; and Dr. J. D. Williamson. The work was divided into sections which dealt with relief and information.

The relief work, under the direction of Mr. de Forrest, was handled by two sub-committees: Emergency Relief to Americans and Red Cross. Matters dealing with information were divided among committees on news, transportation, letters, telegrams, and registration, and banks and credits. This section was placed under the direction of President Garfield.

Mr. Gaffney's Visit to the Bavarian Camps

DURING the early weeks of the war, Entente prisoners commenced to arrive by the thousands almost daily in Bavaria. With customary German foresight, ample provision had been made by the military authorities for their reception in different camps. In order to distract attention from the constant defeats of their troops the British and French press commenced a campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation about the treatment of the war prisoners in Germany.

In answer to a request of Ambassador Page made on behalf of the British government, our Ambassador in Berlin, Mr. Gerard, asked me to visit the Bavarian camps officially and report to him about the conditions prevailing and to listen to any complaints which might be made. I discharged this duty, having been afforded every opportunity for a most thorough investigation by the Bavarian war department. My report was a complete denial of the charges made in the Entente press and a commendation of the arrangements made by the authorities for the health, food, and relaxation of the prisoners. Although I was permitted to talk to them alone, no complaints were made.

It is unnecessary for me to say that the English and French were very much dissatisfied with my reports, but they evidently met with the approval of Gerard as subsequent events will prove.



CONSUL GENERAL GAFFNEY AND
VICE-CONSUL SCHUSSEL ON AN IN-
SPECTION TOUR OF THE BAVARIAN
PRISON CAMPS (OCTOBER, 1914)

CHAPTER V
MY TRIP TO LONDON IN 1914

It is a diplomatists' war made by about half a dozen men. Up to the moment that Ambassadors were withdrawn, the peoples were at peace. They had no quarrel with each other, they bore each other no ill will. Half a dozen men brought Europe to the brink of the precipice and all Europe fell over it because it could not help itself.

RAMSAY MACDONALD, M. P., IN SEPTEMBER, 1914 Aug. 4.

AT the outbreak of the war I had some securities in the London Branch of the Dresden Bank, and as the branch and its deposits had been confiscated by the British government, I was anxious to obtain possession of them. I therefore decided to go to London. Before leaving, I secured from the Dresden Bank in Munich the proper certificate of ownership, and as I was an American Consul General and my country was neutral, I did not anticipate any trouble about the return of my property. Some Americans who also had funds on deposit in London commissioned me to draw out the currency for them from their English bankers. It happened that Ambassador Gerard was in Munich a few days before my departure and in calling upon him one afternoon at the Regina Palast Hotel, I mentioned that it was my intention to leave for London on the following Monday. He immediately expressed himself as very glad to learn this and referred to the experience I had had in visiting at his request some internment camps in Bavaria, and that my reports had merited his approval. He then asked me if I would accept a similar mission in England and upon my assuring him that I would gladly undertake it, he spoke more fully about it.

*Ambassador Page Secures Permission to Visit German Prison
Camps*

A FEW weeks before at the request of the British government, Ambassador Page had asked him to obtain from the German government authority for two American officials to visit and report upon the German prison camps, which was readily granted. Gerard felt that he should have been consulted as to the selection of the investigators, a proceeding which Page had entirely overlooked. He was astonished a little later to learn that Page had commissioned two other Americans to make a report upon the conditions prevailing in the prisoner camps in England. Gerard was annoyed that he did not have an opportunity of designating at least one of these investigators and he added that for that reason the German government would attach little importance to their report, more particularly as they were personal nominees of Page whose Anglomania was notorious in Germany.

"Now, you are well known in Germany, Mr. Gaffney," he continued, "and you have the additional advantage of having visited the camps here, so you will be qualified to give an opinion and contrast the conditions and treatment of prisoners in England and Germany.

"The German authorities will also have confidence in your reports as to the treatment of their subjects both civil and military in England, and it will show the Foreign Office here that official America desires to deal impartially and with justice between the two countries."

I am quite convinced that Gerard really meant what he said at that time. He then sat down at the desk and rapidly wrote a memorandum for my information of those points upon which he wanted particularly to be informed by the English camp authorities. He instructed me also to speak privately with some of the prisoners and obtain from them particulars as to their food, treatment, sanitary conditions, etc. Following is a copy of the items on which he desired information:

1. Accommodations
 - Sleeping
 - Heat
 - Beds Blankets.....
 - Toilets, etc.
 - Number of prisoners in each camp
 - Ages of prisoners..... Any above 45?.....
 - Get names and ages of any above 45.....
2. Food Hours.....
 - Of what does food consist, etc.?.....
 - Canteen facilities and prices.....
3. Clothes, etc. (suits, overcoats, boots, underwear).....
 - What clothes and supplies such as soaps, towels, etc., are given?
4. Exercises and amusements Books.....
5. Facilities for receiving and sending.....
 - Money
 - Letters
 - Packages
6. Health Doctors.....
- 6a. Hospitals
 - Diseases
 - Percentage of deaths
7. Visitors
 - Rules, etc.
8. Facilities for attending to their business, etc.
9. Vaccination

This matter having been settled he wrote and handed to me a letter of introduction to Ambassador Page, in which he requested him to apply at once to the British government for the necessary permission for me to visit the camps officially on his behalf. Gerard also commissioned me to see the Honorable Miss Portman, daughter of Lord Portman, for whom I had given a personal bond of some \$40,000 as security for her remaining in Munich. I finally was able to obtain permission for her to go to Berlin, provided that Gerard would assume the bond. This he did, and after a short delay he obtained the consent of the German government for her return to England.

Before her departure she had signed a paper promising to remit to Gerard certain stocks covering this amount so that he could pay off her indebtedness in Bavaria and be relieved of further responsibilities in the matter. Although several weeks had elapsed, Gerard had heard nothing from Miss Portman and

he desired me to see her and obtain from her the promised shares of stock.

I have mentioned with such particularity the details of this mission with which I was entrusted by Gerard for the reason that it occurred subsequent to events which were afterward made the foundation of charges of unneutrality made against me by Wilson. Gerard was fully aware of these complaints at the time and knew them to be frivolous or exaggerated. He would certainly not have selected me for such an important and confidential mission if I had not previously merited by my official conduct his full confidence and approval.

En Route to England

IN a few days I was en route for England. Nothing of special interest occurred upon my journey to Holland until I arrived on the Flushing boat. This was crowded with Belgian fugitives, the condition of some of them being most pitiable. There were all classes of that nationality, good, bad and indifferent. Before we left the dock I talked with some of these unfortunates in the smoking-room, who did not disguise their feeling of animosity toward England, attributing all their own troubles and the misfortunes of their country to that power. As we got out in the open sea, almost all these fugitives became seasick and they lay around the decks in a most unhappy situation utterly incapable of looking after themselves. I never saw such a helpless assortment of human beings in my whole life.

My Arrival in London

My official passport as Consul General of the United States relieved me of any special examination upon my arrival in England, but the other passengers, including the Belgians, were subjected to a critical investigation and inquiry. In London I put up at the Savoy Hotel which had an entirely different aspect than what it presented before the war. All the German directors and waiters had of course disappeared, and a ragtail and bobtail class of French, Belgian and English had been employed. The hotel was crowded with officers, chiefly Colonial,

and the noise, drinking, uproar and confusion which prevailed everywhere was not at all in keeping with the former reputation of the hotel. I was quickly advised to be careful about locking my door as numerous robberies had occurred, and was told that most of the high-class crooks of Brussels and Paris fled to London and were occupying rooms in the leading hotels. Some Americans who were stopping at the hotel told me that the directors were incapable of maintaining discipline and that they had complained to the management about the orgies that were constantly occurring in the bedrooms, the officers openly bringing women of the town to their rooms. The management apologized to the Americans and stated that if they created trouble for any of these officers the hotel would be black-listed.

How Ambassador Page Received Gerard's Request for Me to Visit English Camps

THE day after my arrival I drove to the American Embassy and after a short delay I was received by Mr. Page. I handed him the letter of introduction from Gerard which he read with some impatience.

"I am quite astonished," he said, "at this action of Ambassador Gerard. He must be aware that I authorized two Americans to make report on the camps in England which were forwarded to him by the last courier. The British government would be very much astonished if I were to make a request for you to visit them and it possibly might be regarded as a reflection on the work that had been done by the two gentlemen I have referred to."

I answered that the reason that Mr. Gerard authorized me to see him in this matter was because he (Gerard) had not been consulted as to the selection of these two gentlemen who were unknown in Germany. He believed that a report on the conditions prevailing in the camps of England signed by an official authorized by him and who was known in Germany would have more weight with the authorities there. I immediately realized that Page would not ask the British government for my authorization but on the contrary would do everything in his

power to prevent it. After some conversation about the situation in Germany, during which Page indicated in the most unmistakable manner his annoyance at my favorable account, he told me that he would telegraph to the State Department at Washington asking for instructions in regard to my application. Of course I knew then that I would not be permitted to see the internment camps, because Page would without doubt frame his dispatch in such a manner that the Secretary of State would be compelled to support his view of the matter. He requested me to return in a couple of days when he would have the reply from Washington.

Upon my reappearance he informed me that the Department of State did not see any necessity for another investigation of the English internment camps and it would not be necessary therefore for him to address an application on my behalf to his Majesty's government.

"Of course," I replied, "your Excellency will hand me copies of this correspondence with the Department of State which I can deliver to Ambassador Gerard, in order that I may show him that I have fulfilled his mission."

"It is quite unnecessary," said Page, and I thereupon took my leave. The secretaries with whom I spoke in the Embassy were all infected with the virus of Anglomania, and no matter how brief had been their official connection with the English capital they had made great progress in acquiring an English accent. The Americans in London with whom I spoke referred to Page as the Anglo-American Ambassador, and many went so far as to characterize our Embassy as a branch of Scotland Yard.

Failure to Secure Securities at Dresden Bank

THE following day I called at the Dresden Bank to see about the return of my shares. I found the bank in possession of the English public trustee. Some of the chief directors and clerks were still kept on, as the English did not understand the business or the German manner of book-keeping. Mr. Fritz Gutmann received me in his private office and gave me an account of the situation, and told me that he feared that I would be unable to obtain my securities. I left the documents of ownership with

him and then drove to the American consulate as I did not care to have any further relations with the Embassy or its officials. The Consul General received me with great courtesy and upon my explaining to him the circumstances about my securities in the Dresden Bank, he said he would do everything within his power to secure their return to me. I may here state that up to December, 1919, I had been unable to obtain possession of these securities from the British government, notwithstanding that I repeatedly applied to the Department of State for its assistance in the matter. When we entered the war our alien property custodian demanded them from the English public trustee, *and not until 1921 were they returned to me in Washington.*

I next called upon a friend of mine at the Deutsche Bank who gave a pitiable account of the heartless and inhuman treatment which not only younger officials attached to the bank had received, but also the older directors and managers. One of these gentlemen wept as he told me of the humiliation to which he had been subjected and the insults which he and his family had received. He was a warden in a Lutheran Church in London, and he described to me the disgraceful conduct of the London mob toward that house of God and its parishioners, so that finally they had been compelled to close its doors.

London at this time was a spectacle. Most of the important buildings and hotels were covered with large advertisements urging the people to join the army. The famous Carlton Hotel was completely concealed by these advertisements. During the next few days I visited some friends in the country, and upon my return called upon the Honorable Miss Portman, already referred to. She told me that the British government would not permit her father to send any money out of the country or any securities. I replied, that in that event Mr. Gerard would have to make good this amount, and it was a very large sum. She replied, that he would get it after the war.

"But it may not be convenient for him to make such a large advance at the present time," was my answer. "Well," she said, "my father and I are helpless and we would be liable to be imprisoned if we sent the money or stocks out of the country."

While in London I called on Sir Edgar Speyer and brought him greetings from some personal friends. Sir Edgar was born

in Frankfurt, but had become a British subject. He occupied a distinguished position in England and was highly regarded by all classes. He had been made a Baronet and Privy-Councilor of his Majesty and was a director of some of the leading corporations in London. Naturally his position was very delicate after the war broke out, and while fulfilling his duties to his adopted country, he refused to be a party to slandering and vilifying his native land. He finally was forced to leave London and took up his residence in America.

A Short Trip to Ireland

DURING my stay in London I made a trip to Sheffield and other parts of England and finally decided to cross the Channel to Ireland. As I arrived at the steamer in Holy Head, I was surprised to find the investigation of my passport practically as strict as if I had been leaving for the Continent and during the entire passage across the Channel it remained in possession of the English officials.

Ireland at this time was suffering from the Belgian atrocity disease. It appeared that the English propaganda press had flooded the Green Isle with pamphlets and papers dealing with the "frightful atrocities" of the Germans in Belgium, particularly emphasizing the alleged murder of priests and nuns and the destruction of churches and convents. I was very much distressed to find credit given to these fairy tales in circles that ought to have known better, but very soon public feeling in Ireland realized that it had been imposed upon by the British press and the majority of the Irish people made no disguise of their friendly feeling for the German cause.

On my return to London I called upon T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and had a heart-to-heart talk with him on the situation. I found that T. P. O'Connor was no longer an Irish nationalist, but had become a full-fledged British Imperialist. His long residence in England, his journalistic success in London, his representing an English constituency for many years, all these conditions had dulled the spirit of Irish nationality in his heart. His personal friendship with Lloyd George and Asquith and their political success was of more importance to him than the pas-

sage of the Home Rule Bill or Irish freedom. I was extremely disappointed with O'Connor, whom I had not expected to have sacrificed to such an extent his manhood and independence to the enemy of his country. Some time after my visit O'Connor told an Irish-American that I had come to London at the request of Sir Roger Casement for the purpose of winning over some members of the Irish parliamentary party to the German cause. Of course, this was not true because I did not know Sir Roger Casement at that time and never had had any correspondence with him.

Constantly Under Observation of English Spies

A FEW days before my departure for the Continent an American newspaper man told me at the Savoy Hotel that there was a long notice in regard to my antecedents and my former anti-English activities posted in the Foreign Office and that I had been under observation by the Secret Service since I had arrived in the country. He also warned me not to attempt to carry any written material out of the country.

"Another thing," he said, "a few moments ago I noticed you reading the war news bulletin and that you smiled in a sceptical manner. Do you know that the detectives here particularly watch the expressions of the visitors' faces when they read the war news, as they claim to be able to distinguish in that way the strangers who are anti-English?"

I was rather amused at this information. I have never to my knowledge been under the observation of detectives, but after having been told that such was the case by this American correspondent, I imagined every other person was keeping track of my expression and my movements. In fact, I lost no time in going upstairs to my room where I carefully burned every letter I had received from friends for delivery in Germany. All these had been left open so that if found upon my person by the English officials they could at once be read, but in view of the fact that I was under suspicion I thought it might get these persons into some difficulties if it was known that they were corresponding with Germany. I therefore telephoned the writers

that I had destroyed the letters and they heartily approved of my action.

My Departure for the Continent

FINALLY came the day for my departure and I took a cab to the Victoria Station. A large wooden enclosure had been erected on the platform where the passengers for Holland were subject to examination. I had been told at the hotel that the train left at six o'clock, but that I should be at the station at four. Upon my arrival at the enclosure, I asked for the chief of the officials, and a man was designated to whom I handed my passport. He looked at it and at me with very grave suspicion and said to me: "Have you not got a letter from the American Embassy?"

"No," I said, "that is unnecessary; my passport is sufficient."

"Well," he said in a dubious voice, "we have to be very careful about spies. A lot of suspicious people are using American passports and we have asked the American Embassy to give a note of introduction to any of their officials who are traveling and I am surprised that they have not done so in your case."

I replied that I had not asked for such a letter. I had noted from the odor of this official's breath that he had been drinking, so it occurred to me to invite him to the refreshment bar and in this way establish a friendly footing with him. I therefore asked his permission to leave my luggage in the examination room while I went to take a drink and I invited him to accompany me. He accepted with great alacrity and after a few glasses of whisky he commenced to tell me the story of his life. Finally he said that he believed that I was a "true-blue" and that he would pass my baggage without investigation, and would lock it up in a first-class compartment. It was the rule, he informed me, to lock the passengers in with their baggage, but as the train did not leave for four hours he would not subject me to annoyance. This was a great relief to me, so I proceeded to order another drink which made him still more mellow, and finally he said: "I am convinced you are all right and we want to stand well with you Americans as we may need you. Although it is against the rules I will allow you to leave the station and you can amuse yourself as you like until nine-thirty. Ask at once for me upon your return." He then handed me his card.

At nine-thirty o'clock I reported and asked for my friend, who appeared to have become a little groggy in my absence. Notwithstanding this, I gave him another invitation to the refreshment room which he cheerfully accepted and we had a parting glass. Then we paraded down the platform until we came to the compartment in which my baggage had been placed. He opened the door with his key and holding out my hand I said to him, "Good-bye, I thank you very much for your courtesy and kindness."

"I am coming in to have a talk with you," he replied.

I immediately suspected that he was going to search me in the compartment and open my baggage, but such was not the case. He simply hated to leave me, and he indulged in maudlin remarks about spies until the whistle sounded, when he took his departure telling me that should I return to London I must always ask for him and he would see that I had no trouble.

I knew that there was a further examination before the passengers were allowed on the steamer and I was a little nervous lest perhaps a telegram would be there that might cause me some difficulty. Such, however, was not the case, and I got safely aboard the steamer, which was again crowded with a motley company chiefly composed of Belgian refugees, who after some weeks' experience of England's hospitality preferred to return to Holland or their own unhappy country.

Nothing of importance transpired on my return journey. I cannot, however, emphasize too strongly my feelings of relief and joy when I crossed the German frontier and once more breathed the free air of the Fatherland.

Back in Berlin

AFTER my arrival in Berlin I called on Gerard, and made a report to him of my experiences in London and the treatment I had received from Ambassador Page. He expressed himself in terms of indignation as I recounted to him my story and he declared that he would communicate it by cable to the Department of State.

"Just think of it," he said to me, "I have not been consulted or allowed the privilege of designating one person in whom I

have confidence to visit the English prisoner camps, and Page sends over two officials of his own selection here to visit the German camps, and I obtained, without question, permission for them."

To judge by his manner and the strength of his language I am perfectly convinced that Gerard resented Page's conduct to me which he also regarded as an affront to himself. He said that he had not felt the necessity to cable the State Department about the two men that Page sent over and that he could not understand upon what basis Page felt obligated to take such action in my case.

The Ambassador then inquired if I had brought back the securities from the Honorable Miss Portman for the \$40,000 which he had guaranteed for her indebtedness in Munich. When I announced to him the failure of my mission in this respect he grew still more indignant, paying his respects to the British government, Ambassador Page, Lord Portman, and Miss Portman in language both picturesque and profane. I never learned how His Excellency was finally able to secure the return of the money from his titled friends.

CHAPTER VI
MY TRIP TO BELGIUM

EARLY in April, 1915, my son-in-law, Baron Hans Heinrich von Wolf, was seriously wounded in the vicinity of Ypern and removed to a military hospital in Aachen, so I decided to pay him a visit and at the same time carry out my intention of making a trip to Belgium for the purpose of inquiring into the stories of atrocities alleged to have been committed by the German army. Of course, I had not given any particular credit to these stories as I was familiar with England's habit of slandering and discrediting her enemies in the eyes of the world and of omitting no perfidy or criminal acts to accomplish this end. Her conduct preceding and during the Boer War was the last glaring example of her success in vilifying a brave but helpless people.

English Propaganda at Work in the Boer War

I HAVE before me an official report dated Van Rhynsdorp, January, 1902, addressed to President Kruger by the Boer General, J. C. Smuts. The English generals responsible for the conduct of the war in South Africa at that time were Kitchener and French, who were in command of the British forces at the outbreak of the war against Germany. I will here reproduce verbatim some extracts from this memorable document.

GENERAL FRENCH was placed at the head of a great military movement having as its aim the securing and devastating of the eastern districts of the South African Republic. Lord Kitchener began to carry out in the *two republics a policy distinguished by unheard-of barbarity and by disregard of the elemental principles of all martial law*. As a result, in the winter of 1901, our poor country and people

were precipitated into a condition of devastation and misery which beggars description. Nearly all the farms and villages in the two republics were devastated and burnt to the ground; all the corn was destroyed; all the cattle that had fallen into the enemy's hands killed or rather ruthlessly butchered. The great majority of our women and children ate their bread in tears in the enemy's concentration camps, and those still at liberty roamed about in the bush and the mountains among Kaffirs and wild beasts. The "veldt" was set on fire in both republics by the enemy; as far as one could see everything was black.

One of the questionable fighting methods the enemy employs against us is his mendacity. That is to say, not only his lying proclamations and announcements whereby he incessantly endeavored to confuse our people and lead them astray from their duty, but also the reports which were circulated officially as well as unofficially throughout the whole world by the British press. In these everything is distorted—the entire war situation is represented in a manner calculated to give the world, and the British people in particular, an impression exactly opposite to the truth. . . . However, I am loath to dwell further on this pest of mendacity which poisons the entire British military world. Truth will yet be victorious, so let us suffer and battle in silence till her dawn breaks.

General Smuts then protests against the "torturing, imprisoning and ill treating of women." (It will be remembered that over 22,000 Boer women and children died in the English prison camps.) Farther on General Smuts denounces "the arming and recruiting of the colored tribes"; thousands of Kaffirs being induced by fear or avarice to join the British forces. (In this, England followed her traditional policy as she did in employing the Indians to murder and scalp the revolutionary soldiers.) General Smuts also denounced "the awful mutilation of Boer soldiers found on the battlefield." He concludes:

THE war has long since degenerated into an enterprise for the extermination of the Boer people. Day by day we learn of atrocities, all of which but form a commentary to the memorable words of the English High Commissioner himself that the Afrikanders must be exterminated.

With the recollection of England's barbarities in South Africa, India, Ireland, and wherever her flag has flown, it is needless to say that I did not attach any credit to the British stories of German atrocities in Belgium.

I was well acquainted with the strict discipline of the German military system and knew the character of the sol-

diers. The Germany army was not composed of hirelings like the regular British army at that time, which was largely recruited from the disreputable elements of its population, nor did it number in its ranks hordes of barbarians, heathens and savages from the jungles and deserts of Asia and Africa. However, I felt it a duty to my government as well as to my own sense of justice to avail of every opportunity of inquiring into the truth or falsity of the English allegations.

An Afternoon with the Countess of Königsmarck and Former Queen Maria Sophia, of Naples

SOME time previous to my departure there had arrived in Munich from London the Countess of Königsmarck, mother-in-law of Baron von Bissing, the German Governor-General of Belgium. This lady was over seventy years of age and for some years had occupied a high position in London society. Upon the outbreak of the war she was treated in the most brutal and shameful manner by the English authorities and after many humiliations and great difficulties was finally permitted to return to Germany. Having learned that I was about to visit Belgium she asked me if I would undertake a mission for a friend of hers who was a royal personage. I answered that I would be most happy to do anything that was consistent with my honor and the official position which I held. She replied that she would communicate with me later and arrange an appointment with the person in question.

The following day I received through the countess an invitation to tea to meet the former Queen Maria Sophia of Naples, who was then in Munich. I was naturally very much interested to see this venerable and exalted lady whose name had been so well known and honored in Europe on account of her heroism during the defense of Gaeta against the Garibaldians in 1861. The self-sacrifice of the beautiful young Queen during the horrors of that siege was one of the few glorious episodes in the history of the Neapolitan Bourbons. Her Majesty had now reached her seventy-fifth year, but was still sound in body and mind. Her figure was erect and neither her manner nor her movements showed her age or any traces of

the harrowing vicissitudes which had occurred during the past half-century in her immediate circle. As I conversed with the Queen, I could not help recalling to my mind the many tragedies to members of her family during her own lifetime. Her nephew, Crown Prince Rudolph, heir to the Austrian throne, had met an early death under the most tragic circumstances. Her elder sister, the Empress of Austria, was the victim of an assassin; another sister, the Duchess d'Alençon, was burned to death in a charity bazaar in Paris. In 1886 her brother-in-law, Count Ludwig von Trani, committed suicide in one of the Swiss lakes. These were but a few of the tragedies that the Queen had survived in addition to the loss of her throne. In 1894 her husband, King Francis, died in Arco in Tyrol.

After we had drunk tea, the Queen told me that she was anxious to send a message to her niece, the Queen of the Belgians, and she hoped that during my visit to that kingdom I would be able to forward the same with some assurance of its being delivered. Of course, her Majesty assured me that there was nothing political involved and that I need have no hesitation on that account. I thereupon mentioned to the Queen that I had recently read in an English paper an interview alleged to have been held with the Queen of the Belgians in which she was quoted as saying that an iron curtain had fallen between her and her Bavarian relatives which would never be uplifted.

The aged Queen replied to me with a pathetic smile: "I am sure that my niece has never used such language and that she has been deliberately misquoted. You know how the press, particularly in the present time, is using its power to make hatreds rather than encourage concord amongst men."

She then handed me the document for the Belgian Queen, and the Countess of Königsmarck gave me a letter commending me to her son-in-law, Governor-General von Bissing. With hearty good wishes from these two venerable ladies for a pleasant and successful journey I took my departure.

As I walked back to my home my thoughts dwelt on this interview and the commission I had received and what exaggerated ideas people have of the power of royalties. The public has really no conception of the limited influence which members of the royal family outside the reigning sovereign have on the

ministry or the military and civil authorities. This was evidenced by the Queen of Naples having recourse to an unimportant person like myself for this small favor rather than apply to her cousin, the King of Bavaria, or the Foreign Minister.

A Typical Example of Journalistic Lying

IN November, 1914, I had escorted the Duchess Karl Theodor, mother of the Belgian Queen, through the American hospital in Munich and upon that occasion she astonished me by stating that since the outbreak of the war she had been unable to send or receive any communication from her daughter. The Duchess was at that time in her fifty-sixth year, but looked about forty. She was extremely pretty and had a most frank and amiable disposition. Her husband, the Duke Karl Theodor, was the famous eye doctor and had established a clinic in Munich where he treated the poor, devoting a large part of his fortune and most of his time to this charitable undertaking. He had died a few years before and the Duchess was still wearing mourning for him and for her daughter, the beautiful Crown Princess Rupprecht, who to the great sorrow of the Bavarians died in 1912. My mentioning the Crown Princess reminds me of a typical instance of American journalistic lying of which the late Vance Thompson was guilty in the early days of the war. Thompson had lived many years in Paris and had become infected with Parisian culture, as is evidenced by the following story which he cabled to the *New York Sun* and which was duly published. The *New York Sun* was the paper which at that time inscribed on its editorial page, "If you see it in the *Sun* it is so."

Thompson stated that during the first week of the war he was taking some refreshment in a fashionable restaurant in Munich, when suddenly the Crown Prince * of Bavaria arrived accompanied by several officers. The Crown Prince indulged in abusive language in regard to the Allies which was received with enthusiasm by the guests. While he was speaking, the Crown Princess of Bavaria came into the restaurant in an excited condition, drew the sword of her husband from its scabbard,

* Appendix II.

kissed it and shouted: "Rupprecht, bring it back to me dyed with the blood of the English." Thompson evidently was unaware of the fact that the Crown Princess Rupprecht had died sixteen months before!

When the American papers with this story arrived in Munich, the American Colony was naturally extremely humiliated that such a preposterous fake should be printed in a so-called reputable American paper. Several wrote the *Sun* and other papers, protesting against this outrage and directing the editor's attention to the fact that Thompson was not in Munich at the outbreak of the war, but their letters were not printed. Such was America during the war.

I Invite Mme. de Wiart to Tea

UPON my arrival in Brussels I wrote a letter to Mme. Henri Carton de Wiart, wife of the Belgian Minister of Justice, who I was informed was still in the city. I had known M. and Mme. de Wiart for some years and had been upon a few occasions their guests in the Belgian capital. Mme. de Wiart had also visited us in the United States. Mme. de Wiart was a very clever and energetic woman and naturally was much disturbed by the calamities which had overtaken her country. I knew that she was under suspicion by the German authorities and as she was still occupying her apartment in the ministry of justice which was adjacent to the Kommandantur, I did not care to call there, so I asked her in my note if she would join me at lunch on the following day in my hotel. My messenger brought back a reply from Mme. de Wiart stating that she would be very glad to accept my invitation.

My Visit with Mr. Brand Whitlock and Mrs. Whitlock

THAT afternoon I drove up to the American Legation to pay my respects to the American Minister, Mr. Brand Whitlock. A few years before, Mr. Whitlock had called on me in Dresden with a note of introduction from the former Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. W. G. McAdoo. Unfortunately the stay of Mr. Whitlock in Dresden was very brief, but it was long enough for

me to form a high estimate of his character and talents. In the course of my talk with his excellency, I informed him of the document which I had received from the Queen of Naples, and asked him if he would be good enough to forward it in the official pouch to the Belgian Legation in London for delivery to the Queen. He then told me that he had given a promise to Governor von Bissing not to transmit anything but American official matter in the legation pouch, but if he received permission from Governor von Bissing, he would gladly send the document on. Unfortunately Governor von Bissing had left the night before for Germany and was not to be back for a couple of weeks, so I decided not to press the matter further on Mr. Whitlock. The Minister was cautious and correct in his conversation with me about the situation in Belgium. He did not unduly criticize the German authorities—on the contrary, he praised them several times and stated that they made every effort to conform to any suggestions coming from him. Of course, it was apparent that his sympathies were on the side of Belgium, but that did not blind him to an appreciation of the excellence of the civic and military German organization.

I stayed to lunch and of course was questioned by the guests as to the situation in Germany. My replies seemed to irritate Mrs. Whitlock who did not make any attempt to disguise her pro-Entente feelings. She was certainly a pronounced partisan of the Entente, and had already come to the conclusion that the German army was composed of hordes of Huns and barbarians. After I had briefly reviewed the financial, political and industrial situation in Germany, notwithstanding the upheaval of the war, Mrs. Whitlock observed: "You, Mr. Gaffney, should change your allegiance and become a German."

I made no reply to this tactless remark.

What Happened to Mme. de Wiart

THE next day I awaited at my hotel the arrival of Mme. de Wiart, but the lady did not come. Upon my asking the porter if a note had arrived for me, he said, "No," but that someone had been inquiring for me.

"Well," I replied, "I expected Mme. de Wiart for lunch; if she comes in, please notify me."

There was a gentleman standing by my side at this moment and he turned to me and said: "If you are expecting Mme. de Wiart today, you will be disappointed, as there is a police investigation in her home."

Then I went to the restaurant somewhat troubled and ate my lunch. Before I had finished, a young man came to my table and said to me that he was asked by Mme. de Wiart to state that she would be unable to come to lunch today.

"Yes," I replied, "I have heard that there is an investigation in her house."

The man looked at me sharply and asked me how I knew. I replied that a guest in the hotel corridor had just informed me. I then inquired from him whether it would be possible for me to call on Mme. de Wiart, and he said perhaps in the evening. So I commissioned him to be good enough to inform her that I would come about five o'clock. I afterwards learned that this alleged messenger from Mme. de Wiart was in reality an agent of the secret police.

Upon my arrival at the house I was immediately ushered into the presence of Mme. de Wiart who was entertaining several sympathetic friends with the account of the police examination of her papers. I was somewhat concerned lest my letter inviting her to lunch would be found and might give rise to some difficulties for her, as I had just come from Germany. The political police of course had no information about my identity, as I had only reported at the Kommandantur. Such was indeed the case, as the first letter that was found on her desk was mine, and Mme. de Wiart was subjected to an hour's examination as to her relations with me. I told her that I would immediately go to the proper authorities and explain the matter so that she need not worry on the score of being a friend of mine.

Next morning I called again on Mr. Whitlock and we discussed the situation of Mme. de Wiart. He told me that she had been indiscreet, and that in his judgment she would surely get into trouble with the German authorities. I assured him that I would do what I could on her behalf while I was in Brussels and with that object I called at the Kommandantur

and explained the circumstances of my acquaintance with Mme. de Wiart and expressed the hope that my letter had not caused any suspicion to be directed against her. I was immediately assured that such was not the case, that they perfectly understood the situation, as they had been fully informed in regard to the object of my mission in Belgium. They also stated that unfortunately there had been grave compromising material found in Mme. de Wiart's possession, particularly copies of letters to her husband in Havre which had been smuggled out of the country, but they said that they would have no objection to my visiting her during my stay in the capital.

Some weeks after my return to Germany Mme. de Wiart was deported from Brussels to Berlin, where she was imprisoned for one hundred and five days and afterwards allowed to go to Switzerland.

My Visit at Louvain

HAVING exhausted all the sights of Brussels and its environs, I decided to visit Louvain, whose Burgermeister, M. Nerinckx, was an old friend. I had known him when he was attached to the Belgian Legation in Washington at the time that Baron Moncheur was Minister. M. Nerinckx was sent on a special mission by the Belgian government to Washington to counteract the propaganda against the Congo administration which was being made by the pro-English party in the United States. We had come together very frequently in combating this propaganda and M. Nerinckx at that time was violently anti-English, denouncing them as liars, slanderers and hypocrites. He was quite astonished to see me walking into his office in the city hall in Louvain and he gave me at once his version of the occurrences which led up to the partial destruction of the town by the German soldiers. To my amazement M. Nerinckx had become quite pro-English and bitter against Germany for having invaded his country. I could not understand his point of view on this subject or reconcile it with the facts of the situation.

*The True Situation Regarding England's Action
Toward Belgium*

ALTHOUGH the German government had absolute information that Belgium had already forfeited her neutrality, and that the French army was ready to cross the frontier, it made every effort to spare the country. The Kaiser offered to respect her neutrality if England would remain neutral. He pledged the inviolability of French territory on the Continent and he promised to keep his warships out of the Channel if England maintained neutrality. England refused these offers. If she had any sympathy or consideration for Belgium she could have saved her by remaining aloof in a war in which she had no concern. But England believed she had her long-sought opportunity to destroy Germany, and Belgium was nothing but a pawn in her hands for that purpose. After the fall of Liege, the Kaiser again appealed to King Albert in a dignified message to spare his country the further effusion of blood, but under the pressure of England the misguided King refused and delivered his people to the invader. Belgium was sacrificed most selfishly by England, who seduced her from her neutrality before the war and urged her to continue her resistance, knowing that it would bring ruin and desolation in the land. The unerring voice of history will charge the misfortune of Belgium's invasion to England.

No Evidence of Alleged German Atrocities

DURING my stay in Belgium I was very much astonished at the few traces of war that were to be seen in travelling through the country. Only those towns and villages which came within the line of fire showed any destruction. The order and discipline of German organization had been introduced and numerous laws in the interest of the health and well-being of the mass of the people were being enforced. The atrocities, as I expected, proved a myth; people spoke vaguely about them, but no witness could be found who was ever present when they occurred. *The truth is that there were no atrocities of any kind except such as are inseparable from all wars.* Women and children who were wounded by shells or falling buildings were afterwards in-

structed to say that such wounds were the result of personal violence and assaults made upon them by German soldiers. The legends of Belgians with hands cut off and eyes put out obtained great publicity, but as none of the victims were ever produced it finally collapsed.*

Professor Barnes, the eminent American historical sociologist, writes as follows in regard to the "German atrocities":

"It would be useful here to destroy for all time a phase of Entente propaganda which successfully aroused world opinion against Germany, namely, that of the alleged atrocities of Germany during the war, as the stories which passed current during the war have been utterly repudiated by both the Entente and neutral investigators.

"Belgian authorities, themselves have denied the truth of such charges as those embodied in the Bryce Report and other similar publications. Likewise Admiral Sims has challenged anyone to produce a single German atrocity in the period of submarine activity. The astonishing falsification of 'atrocities' pictures by the French and the British has recently been revealed.

"The one true and perfectly authenticated atrocity in the world war and the situation which produced by far the greatest suffering and death among the civilian population, was the continuation of the blockade of Germany for months after the Armistice."

* The distinguished Belgian University Professor, Author and Poet Verhulst says in his unchallenged reply to Professor Mayence: "During the whole duration of the war we stayed in the country, at Antwerp, and during those four years of occupation there came to our knowledge not one of the so-called 'atrocities' which are so freely ascribed to the German soldiers." The book of Monsieur Verhulst, called "The Question of the Belgian Franc-Tireurs: Belgium before the World Tribunal," is a devastating exposure of the responsibility of the Belgian Government for the attacks of the civilian population on the German troops. The evidence mainly official produced by Professor Verhulst is sensational and has not been denied up to this writing.

CHAPTER VII

MY TRIP TO LOUVAIN IN 1915

"People are such humbugs. They will not face the truth. Those who have attacked me know perfectly well that what I have written is true." General F. P. Crozier of the British Army, who in his book "A Brass Hat in No Man's Land," has exposed the exact facts about the rank and file of the Army during the war.

WHILE I was in Louvain I was an interested observer of a fair in the market place and was astonished to notice the good humor of the people and their apparent indifference to their surroundings. This part of the town had suffered severely from the shell fire and at the time of my visit very little effort had been made to rebuild. There was no difference in the appearance or mood of the crowd from that of any other people in peace time, and no one would have believed it possible that they had gone through the awful horrors which had been depicted in the allied press. The love of flowers of the Belgian people was shown by a very large sale of plants and flowers which was going on and which was busily attended. I was surprised to notice the zeal and liberality with which they were purchased by the citizens. The buyers seemed to have plenty of money and were in the best of health and spirits. Any resentment which I discovered in conversing with the people was not directed so much against the military operations as the personal restrictions and civic control of the country. For instance, Germans enforced universal school attendance; the laws against cruelty to animals were put into operation as well as the rigid observance of sanitary and hygienic regulations, to which the Belgians had been unaccustomed. As I traveled through the country I observed with pleasure that the farms were all tilled

and that the crops gave prospect of a prosperous harvest. The cattle and sheep were browsing in the fields and the entire country presented a most calm and peaceful aspect.

Before I close this chapter I think it proper to recall and reprint the text of the famous wireless sent by the American correspondents to America denying the charge of atrocities made by the allied press. My own personal investigation and experience in Belgium confirm the truth of this historic document.

American War Correspondents Disprove German Cruelties

The following declaration was published by American war correspondents:

To let the truth be known, we unanimously declare the stories of German cruelties, from what we have been able to observe, as untrue. After having been with the German army for two weeks and having accompanied the troops for over one hundred miles, we are not able to report one single case of undeserved punishment or measure of retribution. We are neither able to confirm any rumors as regards maltreatment of prisoners and non-combatants. Having been with the German troops through Landen, Brussels, Nivelles, Buissiere, Hautes-Wiherie, Merbes-le Chateau, Sarle sur Sambre, Beaumont we have not found the slightest basis for making up a case of excess. We found numerous rumors after investigation to be without foundation. German soldiers everywhere paid for what they bought and respected private property and civil rights. We found Belgian women and children after the battle of Buissiere to feel absolutely safe. A citizen was shot in Merbes-le Chateau, but nobody could prove his innocence. Refugees, who told about cruelties and brutalities, could bring absolutely no proof. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent; no drunkenness. The Burgomaster of Sarle sur Sambre voluntarily disclaimed all rumors of cruelties in that district. For the truth of the above we pledge our word of honor as journalists.

(Signed)

ROGER LEWIS, Associated Press

IRVIN COBB, *Saturday Evening Post*

Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia

HARRY HANSEN, *Chicago Daily News*, Chicago

JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT, *Chicago Tribune*

JOHN T. McCUTCHEON, *Chicago Tribune*, Chicago

Additional Published Statements Regarding Atrocity Myths

IN the issue of the *New York World* of January 28, 1915, appeared the following very important dispatch: "Inquiry in Britain finds no outrages done to Belgians. Thousands of charges made against Germans investigated by government and found baseless."

Washington, January 27: "Of the thousands of Belgian refugees who are now in England, not one has been subjected to atrocities by German soldiers." This, in effect, is the substance of a report received at the State Department. The reports state that the British government had thoroughly investigated thousands of reports to the effect that German soldiers had perpetrated outrages on fleeing Belgians. During the early period of the war, columns of British newspapers were filled with the accusations. Agents of the British government, according to the report of the American Embassy in London, carefully investigated all these charges; they interviewed the alleged victims and sifted all the evidence. As a result of the investigation, the British Foreign Office notified the American embassy that the charges appeared to be based upon hysteria and natural prejudice. The report added that many of the Belgians had suffered severe hardships, but they should be charged up against the exigencies of war rather than to brutality of the individual German soldiers.

If corroboration were required of the verdict of the American correspondents and the *New York World*, it is given by the book of Baron C. Buffin, *Brave Belgians*. The book has a preface from the pen of Baron de Brocqueville, the Belgian Minister of War, who officially endorsed it and commends its truth and fairness.

The literary supplement of the Anglo-American organ, the *New York Times* of March 19, 1918, contains a favorable criticism of this book in which it says:

THE work gives eye-witness accounts of the *first three months* of the invasion of Belgium, and is made up of reports told by various people who did their share in that extraordinary resistance, colonels, majors and army chaplains, lieutenants, etc. *There is scarcely a hint of that "bug-bear," German atrocities, or the nameless or needless horrors described in the report of the Bryce Commission.*

The New York *Times* is evidently disappointed that this honorable Belgian author and his contributors have not endorsed the campaign of slander and falsehood in which that sheet played such an ignominious part.

If these Belgian witnesses had seen a real German atrocity they would undoubtedly have recorded it in *Brave Belgians*, but evidently there was nothing of this nature seen or proved by them, hence no reference to the subject in the book.

How American Journalists Spread Atrocity Lies

AFTER America's entry into the war the British and American journalists started a similar campaign of slander and vilification against the German army. An American sergeant, in speeches supporting the Liberty Loan, endorsed these charges and was promptly brought to time in the following telegram sent by General Pershing to the War Department:

A ST. LOUIS, Missouri, paper recently received here states that a sergeant, one of the fifty men sent back in connection with the Liberty Loan campaign, is making speeches in which he states:

"The Germans gave poisoned candy to the children to eat and hand grenades for them to play with. They show glee at the children's dying writhings and laugh aloud when the grenades explode. I saw one American boy about seventeen years old, who had been captured by the Germans, come back to our trenches. He had cotton in and about his ears. I asked someone what the cotton was for.

"The Germans cut off his ears and sent him back to tell us they want to fight men," was the answer. "They feed Americans tuberculosis germs."

As there is no foundation whatever in fact for such statements based on any experience we have had, I recommend that this sergeant, if the statements quoted above were made by him, be immediately returned for duty here, and that the statements be contradicted.

PERSHING.

Conan Doyle, Kipling and Northcliffe All Engage in Spreading False Tales of Crime and Horror

I MUST also recall the open letter addressed to Conan Doyle by James O'Donnell Bennett, the well-known correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, who exposed the falsity of the charges made by that English writer of German atrocities on the Belgian

people. Some years before the World War the same Conan Doyle in speaking of the atrocities proved against the Belgians in the Congo said:

IF the Belgian people do not expiate with tears and suffering the nameless horrors committed by them against the unfortunate negroes of the Belgian Congo, then the world is justified in losing faith in a Divine justice.

Doyle, Kipling, Northcliffe and their kind accused the German army with committing the very same crimes that some years before they had charged against the Belgians, particularly the cutting off of hands which was a method of punishment inflicted on the natives of the Congo by the Belgian troops.

*The New York "Times" Was Already a Purveyor of
Atrocity Tales*

THE *New York Times* was one of the chief purveyors of this kind of news to discredit the people from which its owner sprung. The paper has a weakness for swallowing atrocity tales. During the Civil War it was blatant on the subject. On April 17, 1865, it said editorially of the Confederates:

EVERY possible atrocity appertains to this rebellion. There is nothing whatever that its leaders have scrupled at. Wholesale massacres and torturings, wholesale starvation of prisoners, firing of great cities, piracies of the cruelest kind, persecution of the most hideous character and of vast extent, and finally assassination in high places—whatever is unhuman, whatever is brutal, whatever is fiendish, these men have resorted to. They will leave behind names so black, and the memory of deeds so infamous, that the execration of the slaveholders' rebellion will be eternal.

These very words might be paralleled with the comments of the English and French journals and their sympathizers upon what they were pleased to call the "*Furor Teutonicus*," yet fifty years after the close of the slaveholders' rebellion, there are few who hold Lee and Jackson and Johnston and Davis in particular execration.

My Visit at Aachen

ON my return journey I stopped off at Aachen to visit my son-in-law, the Baron Hans Heinrich von Wolf, who had been

seriously wounded when in the vicinity of Ypres and was lying at this time in a hospital. The poor fellow nearly lost a leg in a battle and was confined to his room for many months and it was nearly a year before he could return to the army. In the fall of 1916 he was given the command of a battalion of infantry and on September 4 of the same year was killed at the head of his troops fighting gloriously against the French. The Baron, who was a gallant officer, came of a race of soldiers and was the son of the late General Ernst von Wolf of the Saxon Artillery. His mother was a Baroness von Oppel.

The New York Press published the following notice of his death:

MAJOR VON WOLF KILLED

News has reached New York that Baron Hans Heinrich von Wolf, who was a Major in the German army, has fallen on the Somme. Major von Wolf was married nine years ago to Miss Jayta Humphreys, step-daughter of Mr. St. John Gaffney, former American Consul-General in Munich. Major von Wolf was the son of the late General Ernst von Wolf of the Royal Saxon Artillery. He had distinguished himself in German Southwest Africa during the Herero insurrection, and after that was suppressed he purchased a large estate there and built a castle known as Schloss Duwisib.

At the outbreak of the European war, the Baron and Baroness von Wolf started for Germany, and although the Holland ship in which they were traveling was held by the British fourteen days in Falmouth, the Major was smuggled through by the intelligence and devotion of his wife. He immediately went to the front, was severely wounded at Ypres and was over a year in hospital. During the last two months he had been again at the front continuously in the firing line.

The Major had received the Iron Cross of the First Class and other distinguished military orders. The Baroness is at present in Munich with her mother, Mrs. St. John Gaffney.

I Return to Berlin

ON my return to Berlin I called on Ambassador Gerard and reported to him my impressions about Belgium, in which he manifested great interest. I also told him about the document entrusted to me by the former Queen Marie Sophia for the Belgian Queen, and that our Minister, Whitlock, had declined to

forward the same without the permission of Governor von Bissing.

"Give it to me," he quietly said, "and I will send it on by the Embassy courier."

Gerard's voluntary offer pleased me very much and I thanked him warmly. I did not like to return to Munich and announce the failure of my mission to the aged Queen. A few weeks later, Mr. Gerard sent me the official receipt of the Belgian Legation in London for the document, and the same afternoon the Queen invited me again to visit her, and informed me that she had received a reply from her niece.

"So you see," she said, "that the newspapers misquoted the Queen's sentiments."

*The Interesting Interview with Cardinal von Bettinger
Regarding Cardinal Mercier and the Alleged Shootings
of Belgian Priests and Destruction of Churches*

SOME time after my return from Brussels a correspondent of the *New York World*, Mr. Lincoln Eyre, visited Munich and was very anxious to secure an interview with His Eminence, the late Cardinal von Bettinger, relating to the atrocities and to the indiscretions of Cardinal Mercier and the alleged shooting of priests and destruction of churches. The German princes of the church do not care to figure in the political limelight and they obey the mandate of the Pope to avoid recriminations with their brethren in enemy lands. At my earnest solicitation His Eminence made an exception in this case and received Mr. Eyre in my presence, to whom he gave the following interview: (I quote from the *New York World*.)

THE attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany toward the recent incident in Belgium of which Cardinal Mercier was the chief figure was set forth to a special correspondent of the *New York World* by Cardinal von Bettinger, Archbishop of Munich, in an exclusive interview in the archepiscopal palace in that city. From the lips of the Primate of Bavaria, than whom there is no ecclesiastical dignitary in Germany better equipped to interpret the feelings of his Catholic fellow countrymen, there comes the first authoritative statement relative to the Mercier affair which has emanated from a German source since the French and British press began to ring with de-

nunciation of the alleged indignities offered to the Archbishop of Malines by German military authorities.

In the course of his conversation with the *World* correspondent, Cardinal von Bettinger also gave utterance to the belief that not only has religion not become subordinated to less lofty sentiments as a result of the war but it has gone forward hand in hand with the splendid flood of patriotism engendered in every country, and that it cannot but be strengthened by what mankind has had to endure.

"The pastoral letter issued by Cardinal Mercier," the Bavarian Primate began in reply to a leading question, "was unquestionably a very strong document. I know that the Cardinal has stated that it was written solely with the intention of quieting the Belgian populace in the districts occupied by German troops and that when he found that in the opinion of the German authorities it was calculated to have the opposite effect he expressed great surprise. Without undue pressure of any kind being laid upon him, he thereupon agreed that it would be wiser that it should not be disseminated farther. As I understand it, the letter was a very long one, and was to have been read in three sections on three successive Sundays in the churches of his diocese. After the German officials had consulted with him, however, Cardinal Mercier very properly decided that it would be wiser not to have the second two sections read, and to prevent as much as possible the further publication of the document as a whole."

Cardinal von Bettinger said in answer to further questions that he was without definite information on the point but that he did not believe Cardinal Mercier had been subjected at any time to imprisonment in any form. He added, however, that it would have been well within the rights of the military power to have restricted the prelate's liberties if he had shown himself subversive to the regulations laid down by that power.

"A Prince of the church," the Cardinal continued, "cannot expect to hold himself above the laws of the land in which he is resident. Whether those laws be civil or military, he must obey them like any other citizen. Only a few years ago that question was definitely settled by a decision from Rome itself, and hence it is not true, as has been averred by enemies of Germany, that a Cardinal is answerable only to the Pope.

"The jurisdiction of the Vatican extends only to matters of a *purely churchly character*—that is, the *church* always has insisted upon its right to conduct its *religious affairs* as it sees fit. Sometimes there is a very fine line between religious and political subjects, but in the case of Cardinal Mercier's pastoral letter the line was drawn quite plainly. As soon as the political nature of his utterances had been remarked upon by the German military authorities, the Cardinal very promptly and very properly recognized the justice of their point of view."

With regard to the statements contained in the pastoral letter and enunciated elsewhere as well, that a great many Belgian priests had been shot by German soldiers on one pretext or another, Cardinal von Bettinger said he deemed it highly doubtful that priests had been shot unless due sentence was pronounced upon them.

"There have been numerous stories to the effect that the priests deliberately stirred up the Belgian people to fire upon our soldiers and themselves took lead in the Franc-Tireur outrages." He observed, "I do not believe this is true, although there may have been isolated instances of the kind. But there were a great many cases where spies and enemy agents masqueraded as priests, and when these were shot of course rumors followed about the shooting of real priests. Then again when non-combatants fired upon our troops from houses, all the people in those houses naturally received the drastic penalties necessary in warfare—and of course priests and laymen fared alike. But I have seen no proofs, and I hold it as incredible, that either the Belgian priesthood as a body aided in the commission of these outrages against German soldiers or that any appreciable number of Belgian priests were put to death by German soldiers."

"What is the feeling of German Catholics with regard to the charge of barbarism that has been made against the Germans because of the firing upon the Rheims Cathedral and other churches?" His Eminence was asked.

"We feel, as does the whole civilized world, that it would be barbarism to fire upon any monument of religion or art unless it became a military necessity. That is why the German troops were directed to abstain from attempting the destruction of any edifice which was of a purely religious character. But as soon as such an edifice is used, as Rheims Cathedral was used, for purely military purposes, it ceases to be a church and becomes subject to bombardment just as any other building must under like circumstances."

"Supposing that the tables were turned and instead of Rheims it had been the Cologne Cathedral?"

"If we had used the tower of the Cologne Cathedral as an observation point, and the French had shelled it, we should not have said a word in protest, greatly as we would have been distressed by such a calamity. It was no less distressing to us that we were obliged to fire upon the Cathedral at Rheims."

In conclusion the Cardinal was asked whether in his belief it was true that through this war religion had become of secondary importance to patriotism.

"Patriotism and religion," he said slowly, "are like the love of father and the love of mother—one cannot choose between them. Perhaps for a time one seems to turn more strongly to the love of father, but one doesn't forget the love of mother. The spirit of religion is akin to that of patriotism in that it commands one to fight for that in which one believes and to obey the voice of authority and

discipline, and in this war religious and patriotic virtues are united in the call to duty and go forward hand in hand. The sufferings of mankind always have been assuaged by religion, and it is only to be expected that the colossal suffering which has been brought upon mankind by this war will have the effect of turning humanity more than ever to the solace of the church."

On Sunday, February 7, 1915, His Eminence Cardinal von Hartmann, preaching in the great Cathedral of Cologne said:

God will never permit atheistic France, orthodox Russia or jealous England to destroy our Fatherland. We pledge to our noble Emperor the intrepid support and unfaltering allegiance of his 26,000,000 Catholic subjects, and we contrast the liberality and justice of our Emperor during the past twenty-six years of his reign with the persecutions of the Catholics in France and the Jews in Russia. May the ruler of battles, to whom we faithfully pray, continue to bring victories in our just cause to the brave armies in the field.

Early in the war the attitude of the German Catholics had been clearly and forcibly expressed by an article in the *Germania*, the noted Catholic paper and official mouthpiece of the Centrum party. I quote the following extracts:

Do the Belgians, the French and the Russians not yet realize that England, when promising and offering them her support against Germany, only utilized for her own gain their desire for revenge and their spirit of ambition? As yet their eyes do not seem to have been opened; hence a great deal of bloody work shall yet have to be done by our armies, and all our courage, all our strength and endurance together with that of our Austro-Hungarian ally will be required to do it. What will greatly aid us in this work is the fact that we know with unerring certainty who is our real and ancient enemy; in all we do therefore or leave undone in this world struggle there must and shall be for us only one conviction:

Germany's enemy, nay, the enemy of all Continental Europe is England, and no quiet nor peace nor security can ever return until England is crushed.

CHAPTER VIII
A NEW YORK WORLD INTERVIEW

IN May, 1915, another special correspondent of the New York *World* made an investigation into the political and commercial conditions in Munich. He was allowed by the authorities the utmost freedom of movement and inquiry not only in the Bavarian capital but over all Germany. He published in the New York *World* the following interview with me, which was reproduced in several other American papers.

TRUTH ABOUT GERMANY

THE NEW YORK "WORLD'S" REPRESENTATIVE, MR. ROEDER, TELLS
OF WHAT HE SEES IN HIS TRAVELS. QUICK RECOVERY FROM EARLY
WAR DEPRESSIONS

ST. JOHN GAFFNEY TALKS

"I feel in common with all my countrymen who live here a keen sense of humiliation." Charges of insults and atrocities all false.

New York, May 25.—The New York *World* correspondent, Mr. Gustav Roeder, has been publishing a number of letters, in which he tells the truth about Germany. This is very astute journalism on the part of the *World* and has largely increased that newspaper's circulation.

Mr. Roeder's trip to Munich forms interesting reading. There he met the well-known American Consul-General Gaffney, who has such an enviable reputation in the Bavarian capital.

The *World's* correspondent writes:

T. St. John Gaffney, a lawyer from New York, is the United States Consul-General in Munich. He formerly occu-

pied a similar position in Dresden, the capital of Saxony. There are few Americans, if any, who are more popular today in Munich than is "der Herr Amerikanische Consul," as he is more generally referred to in the capital city of beautiful Bavaria.

At the same time it must be stated that the feeling against Americans in general is not any too friendly in Munich just now. Munich people will not permit the average foreigner to talk English. They don't object, however, when Mr. Gaffney converses with his friends in his native tongue.

He Knows

THERE are few persons in Munich who understand the war situation from a German point of view better than does Mr. Gaffney. His expressions are looked upon as convincing as law. They realize that it was no fault of Mr. Gaffney that the English cut the German cable at the very outset of hostilities, and that most of the news that comes to the United States concerning matters in Germany just now is sent via the British censor and from London.

When the reports were first brought back from America that Germany was on the point of starvation, that bread and potato riots had taken place all over Germany—which includes Bavaria, of course—and that people were unable to get enough food for their maintenance, Germans in all walks of life flocked to the office of the United States Consul-General at No. 7 Theatinerstrasse to launch their protest against such publications. Americans, too, appeared on the scene, and they demanded that the truth be made known, so that their relatives and friends at home might be relieved of all possible worry.

Hotel keepers, owners of restaurants and cafés called, too, and they brought along copies of their bills of fare to prove that Munich was nowhere near starvation.

When the *World* staff correspondent called upon Mr. Gaffney in Munich he found that official in his office with his desk piled full of menu cards.

"So glad you came," said Mr. Gaffney. "The Americans here, as well as the Germans living in this district, have been

wishing for a long time that a newspaper correspondent direct from America would pay them a visit. Here, look at all these bills of fare. Read them. Does that look anything like hard times or like starvation? Just go and see for yourself and report what you see and hear, and we will all be satisfied."

"Lies"

MUNICH, with its old-time buildings, its wonderful beer, its art treasures and its great theatres and opera houses, has 640,000 inhabitants. It is the seat of the royal family of Bavaria, and King Ludwig III, the seventy-year-old ruler of the kingdom, has his residence in Munich, which is often referred to as the "Athens of Germany." It was there that Richard Wagner, the composer, lived for many years.

In the first place the newspapers showed that all the theatres in Munich, ten of them, were running every night. At the Royal Opera they had sung "The Magic Flute" the night before to a packed house. A few days before that there had been a gala performance at the opera for the benefit of the wounded soldiers—and there are plenty of them in and about Munich. Seats had sold as high as \$12 for an orchestra chair.

During the intermission a splendid dinner had been served, for which the charge had been 3 marks (75 cents) a plate.

No bread cards had been necessary. But bread cards were about to be introduced the day the *World* representative visited Munich on his tour of inspection of Germany and her economic affairs.

They Protest

AMERICANS and Germans had come to the box occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Gaffney during the benefit performance to enter their protests against what they said were "outrageous lies about conditions in Germany."

"I feel, in common with all my fellow-countrymen who live here a keen sense of humiliation," Mr. Gaffney had replied. "Germany has been so misrepresented in America." At the outbreak of the war Germans were accused of outraging and insulting American citizens. For weeks because the cable was cut,

these lies were distributed throughout America. Of course they are all false.

"The next lies were that the firing line had reached great cities of the empire and that Nuremberg had been destroyed.

"The effect of the publication of such news was in the first instance to alarm the relatives and friends of the Americans residing in Germany and in the next instance to discredit American journalism and create a hostile feeling on the part of a section of the population against Americans.

Atrocity Fakes

"THEN commenced the atrocity campaign, for the purpose of influencing American public opinion. In addition to the legitimate correspondence that comes to the American Consulates in Germany, our mail has been considerably increased by letters from distressed relatives and friends who have been alarmed by this news.

"Can you, then, wonder why we are all glad to meet a representative of your newspaper, who has come to us to report facts and nothing but facts?

Effect on German Trade

"WHEN consideration is given to all the reports coming from the industrial fields of Bavaria, it would appear that the economical war balance does not at all show an unfavorable aspect. It is most astonishing how wonderfully the great industrial and commercial concerns understood how to adapt themselves to the entirely changed conditions of life.

"Never so far as history records, has a nation been exposed to such difficult demands as Germany. At the beginning of the war her enemies prophesied famine, financial ruin and economical prostration of all trade and industry. But nothing of all this happened. Everything went on all right, and week by week the economical life has strengthened.

"Many businesses have gone on even better than before the war, and everywhere they have strong reserves on which they can always fall back. A nation with the technical, intel-

lectual and material abilities of Germany will always be able to fight its cause to the very last."

Mr. Gaffney asked the *World* representative to accompany him to a place in Munich where he had been requested to inspect a newly built field ambulance automobile for service at the front. Mr. Gaffney had received some time ago a donation of money sent by the Austro-Hungarian Ambulance Committee of New York, and this money had been used in the construction of the new ambulance which was inspected that day.

Not All Interned

MR. GAFFNEY's attention was called to the fact by some of his American visitors, to whom the *World* correspondent was introduced, that Germans had not interned all English subjects still living in Germany while in England all Germans had been made civil prisoners of war. Professor Wells, an Oxford B.A., is still lecturing at the Munich University. Professor Henry Marteau, of Paris, is still connected with the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin.

While walking through the town with the Consul-General, a shop was passed where the *Matin*, *London Times*, *Daily Mail*, *Figaro* and other prominent publications from London and Paris were openly exhibited.

"I bet you won't find the Berliner *Tageblatt* on exhibit like this in London," said a friend of the Consul-General who was of the party.

A New Declaration of Independence

ON July 4, 1915, a large demonstration of Americans was held in Berlin at which the following declaration was adopted:

A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

SEVEN score years have elapsed since those great words were forged that welded us into a nation upon many fiery battlefields.

In that day the strong voices of strong men rang across the world, their molten words flamed with light and their arms broke the visible chains of an intolerable bondage.

But now in the red reflex of the glare cast from the battlefields of Europe, the invisible manacles that have been cunningly laid upon

our freedom have become shamefully apparent. They rattle in the ears of the world.

Our liberty has vanished once again. Yet our ancient enemy remains enthroned in high places within our land and in insolent ships before our gates. We have not only become Colonials once again, but subjects—for true subjects are known by the measure of their willing subjection.

We Americans in the heart of this heroic nation now struggling for all that we ourselves hold dear, but against odds such as we were never forced to face, perceive this truth with a disheartening but unclouded vision.

Far from home we would today celebrate, as usual, the birthday of our land. But with heavy hearts we see that this would now seem like a hollow mockery of something solemn and immemorial. It were more in keeping with reality that we burnt incense upon the altars of the British Baal.

Independence Day without Independence! The liberty of the seas for which this marvelous Germany is now fighting for the benefit of all the nations of the world, *denied us for the peaceful commerce of our entire land and granted us only for the murderous trafficking of a few men!*

Independence Day has dawned for us in alien yet friendly land. It has brought to us at least the independence of our minds.

Free from the abominations of the most dastardly campaign of falsehood that ever disgraced those who began and those who believe it, we have stripped ourselves of the rags of many perilous illusions. We see America as a whole, and we see it with a fatal and terrible clarity.

We see that once again our liberties of thought, of speech, of intercourse, of trade are threatened, nay, already seized by the one ancient enemy that can never be our friend.

With humiliation we behold our principles, our sense of justice trodden underfoot. We see the wild straining of the felon arms that would drag our land into the abyss of the giant Conspiracy and Crime.

We see the foul alliance of gold, murderous iron and debauched paper to which we have been sold.

We know that our pretenses and ambitions as heralds of peace are monstrous, so long as we profit through war and human agony.

We see these rivers of blood that have their source in our mills of slaughter.

The Day of Independence has dawned.

It is a solemn and momentous hour for America.

It is a day on which our people must speak with clear and inexorable voice, or sit silent in shame.

It is the great hour in which we dare not celebrate our first Declaration of Independence, because the time has come when we must proclaim a new one over the corpse of that which has perished.

Berlin, July 4th, 1915.

CHAPTER IX

RESIGNATION FROM THE CONSULAR SERVICE

DURING the first few months of the war certain rumors were circulated in the English press to the effect that I was not acting in a neutral manner and that I was neglecting the interests of the English subjects committed to my protection. The fact that I had forbidden members of the English colony to wear the American flag and pose as American citizens was made the chief ground of complaint against me of anti-English prejudice. Some persons with real or imaginary grievances carried their complaints to the London newspapers which were only too glad of an opportunity to criticize my conduct. Mr. Gerard, the American ambassador, was fully acquainted with my work in behalf of the British subjects and had commended me, although the complaints had been brought to his attention. It is entirely improbable that he would have given me an important mission to England in November, 1914 (Chapter V), if he had attached the slightest credit to the statements reflecting upon my impartiality. I frankly admit that I was quite convinced then, as I am today, that England was responsible for the outbreak of the war. If the English cabinet had clearly indicated to Russia and France that these powers would make war at their own peril and could not rely upon British assistance there would have been no war. But England did nothing to discourage the warlike ardor of France and Russia, as she believed the favorable hour had struck for her reckoning with Germany. France and Russia would never have taken up arms if it had not been for the knowledge that England was ready to support them with all her power. England,

therefore, must bear her full share of responsibility for the terrible slaughter of mankind which followed during the ensuing years.

However, these considerations never entered into my thoughts in dealing with English subjects, and my relations with them were as cordial as with my own countrymen. Some people charge Gerard with having been responsible for Wilson's action in regard to myself. This I do not believe as I have seen letters from him in which he denied most positively any knowledge of the subject or of having made any recommendation against me to the Department of State. He also declared that his advice was never asked. My personal relations with him were friendly and I was several times his guest at lunch at the Embassy before I left the service. A few weeks previous to the receipt of Lansing's telegram requesting my resignation, Mrs. Gaffney and I took luncheon at the Embassy. Gerard knew how my sympathies lay and that I believed England was largely responsible for the war, yet he never expressed dissatisfaction with my point of view although he suggested caution in expressing it. He sometimes concurred in my observations and did not hesitate to declare his admiration for the Imperial Government, the military organization and marvelous civil administration of the German Fatherland. On more than one occasion he expressed to me his grave doubt as to the final victory of the Allies, but he did not appear to me at that time to be deeply concerned on one side or the other.

I am glad, therefore, to exonerate Gerard from having had any act or part in the contemptible English intrigue against me or in advising Wilson to demand my resignation. Wilson's action was inspired from London and not from Berlin. He was influenced by my British enemies and not by my official chief in Germany. I shall not dwell on this subject further than to direct the reader's attention to my reply to the charges of unneutrality filed at the State Department and which is too long to reproduce here. That Gerard's attitude towards me was evidently sincere is shown by the following extracts from letters written by him to me, the originals of which are in my possession.

Extract from a letter to Mr. Gaffney dated September 2, 1914:

PERMIT me in this connection to compliment you on the splendid work and results you have been accomplishing in Munich and your Consular District.

Extract from a letter of Ambassador Gerard to an American official in The Hague who made some criticism of Mr. Gaffney's work, dated September 11, 1914. Gerard sent me a copy of his reply which contained the following comment:

I PERSONALLY have heard nothing but good accounts of the manner in which he has handled a very difficult situation.

I Refute the Charges Against Me

ON October 15, 1914, the *Continental Times*, an American newspaper published in Berlin, printed the following article in which it reproduced an interview from the *Münchener Zeitung* in which I dealt with the charges made against me:

THE CASE OF CONSUL-GENERAL ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MALIGNED OFFICIAL

The Attitude of a True American. The Campaign of Slander in London and New York. Venomous Attacks by the "Morning Post" and Servile Echoes in New York "World." Gross Injustice Towards an Efficient and Esteemed American Official

FOR some time past the American Consul-General at Munich, Mr. T. St. John Gaffney, has been the object of a virulent press attack by certain London sheets, an attack which, as might have been expected, was taken up and re-echoed by some of our debased and hireling New York papers. The stream of English lies directed against this true American and excellent official, the threat of withdrawing English patronage, the tremendous and shameful influence of English politicians in our national life—have had their effect. The charges levelled against him have been a mixture of crudeness and cunning and sheer preposterousness. Amongst the worst have been the following:

A lack of courtesy towards the members of the American colony at Munich. Neglect of the interests of English subjects at Munich, as entrusted to him. A violent anti-English propaganda. Smuggling through of secret documents in the service of the German and Austrian governments. The publication of articles in which the policy of President Wilson is adversely criticized. Further, Mr. Gaffney is supposed to have perpetrated a still greater crime by giving a dinner to Sir Roger Casement—the Irish patriot whom Sir Edward Grey had devoted to the dagger of a truly exemplary observer of decorum in a neutral land—Mr. Findley.

MR. GAFFNEY ASKED TO RESIGN

The *Continental Times* has just received word to the effect that President Wilson has requested the resignation of Mr. Gaffney, and that without giving this new victim of English slander and persecution an opportunity to defend himself or to make the slightest explanation.

In this connection it will prove interesting to quote an interview given to the *Münchener Zeitung* of October 1 by Mr. Gaffney. In this the maligned official gives frank expression to his attitude and his views, in which he must have the unflinching support of every American still worthy the name.

"I know nothing of the charges that have been brought against me," said Mr. Gaffney, "save what I have read in the papers. I have never heard a word from either the American ambassador at Berlin nor from the government at Washington. My relations with the American colony here are, so far as I am able to judge, of the most cordial nature. As for those one hundred English subjects who are still in Munich, and whose financial situation is in part pretty bad, I do all that lies in my power to help them. Time and time again has this Consulate-General received tokens of thanks and appreciation from the Americans living in Munich and even the British subjects whose interests I represent have twice given expression as a body to their complete satisfaction with my endeavors.

THE LONDON "POST" AND THE NEW YORK "WORLD"

"When the first attacks upon me appeared in the *Post* of London and in the *World* of New York, those British subjects I am supposed to have neglected even went so far as to form a committee under the leadership of Miss Sylvia Welsh and to send a brief abstract of the real conditions here to the *Morning Post*. In this it was expressly declared that the reproaches made against me were totally untrue and were the results either of ignorance or malice. This letter was not published by the *Morning Post*—which continued its vilification of me.

"Of course, as is the case with every Consul, it is impossible for me to fulfill each and every one of the many requests addressed to me. Yet I believe that I have fulfilled my duties to the utmost possibility and that neither the Americans here nor the English cherish the slightest doubt as to my good will and my readiness to help.

"As to where, when and how I am supposed to have carried on my violent or nonviolent anti-English propaganda is something I am unable to conceive. My activities are purely administrative and have nothing whatsoever to do with politics. So there is not the least reason for my mixing up in politics and personally I have not the slightest desire for anything of the sort.

"The charge that I have expedited or smuggled through letters or documents with or without the use of my official post is simply laugh-

able. I hold it to be beneath the dignity of my official position even to enter upon the discussion of a charge so base and dishonorable.

"Equally fatuous and false is the accusation that I have openly or covertly criticized the policy of President Wilson. For many years I have written no article for newspapers, either under my name or anonymously, but concentrated all my energies upon my consular duties.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE DINNER TO SIR ROGER

"The tale of the festivity which I am supposed to have inaugurated in honor of Sir Roger Casement is a malicious perversion of fact. Some weeks ago Mr. McClellan, the former mayor of New York, came to Munich. I gave a dinner in his honor at the Preysing Palais, and there were several ministers and other dignitaries present. At the request of the ex-mayor of New York, Sir Roger Casement, who happened to be sojourning in Munich at that time, was also invited and took part at this dinner. All the guests naturally were aware that Sir Roger was in no special favor with the English government. But I do not believe that German gentlemen and American citizens in Munich, when assembling at a festal board, are under any obligation to obtain the approval of the British government as to the list or the arrangement of their guests at table.

"The desperate efforts made by a part of the London press to cast suspicion upon me have in reality quite another reason than these sheets allege. The chief reason is that I am an Irishman by birth. This fact in itself suffices to render me suspect as having very little enthusiasm for English policy. But in this I am not alone, for the same suspicion applies to millions of American citizens of Irish extraction. But the conclusion which is apparently drawn by the English press, namely, that I permit my opinions as an Irishman to interfere in the slightest degree with my official duties is, as everyone knows, simply absurd.

"The second reason for the fury with which I seem to be honored by the London press, is due to the fact that some months ago, when the most monstrous yarns regarding the maltreatment and persecution of American citizens in Germany, especially in Munich, made their re-appearance in the *Morning Post* and were recopied by the *New York World*, I wrote a letter to the *World* in which I declared that as a Consul in Munich I could give reliable testimony to the fact that all these crude stories emanating from London and elsewhere were the veriest nonsense. I held it to be my official duty to address this letter to the *New York World*, since there was obviously some anxiety in American circles regarding the fate of Americans sojourning in Munich during the war. I venture to think that these anxieties were thoroughly dispelled by my letter to the *World*.

"The English reports, naturally, were, through this correction of mine, publicly exposed for what they really were—wicked lies and gross inventions. Instead of taking the hint and suspending this clumsy

falsification of fact, the *Morning Post* and other papers of that stripe now redoubled their attacks upon me—once more with the weapons of hypocrisy and falsehood—for these apparently constitute the only spiritual equipment left to these sheets.

"I greatly regret that this systematic persecution should have resulted in bringing about a single moment of disquiet—not only in the interests of the American colony in Munich but in the interests of my English charges. But in view of the conditions which at present prevail I am completely powerless against these low and in every sense ungentlemanly attacks upon me.

"On the other hand I am more than happy to say that in consequence of these attacks I have received a great number of letters expressive of the utmost sympathy and confidence. I may say, therefore, that in so far as the venomous maneuvers of these newspapers were meant to plant suspicion of me in the minds of the American colony and my English charges, they have been a complete and miserable failure."

There is no one in Munich who paid the slightest attention to the attacks of the London press upon a trusted and faithful American consular officer and genial personality nor felt anything but contempt for the foul sycophancy and criminal subservience of those New York organs that re-mouthed the lies of the Fleet Street slanderers. The American Community in Munich, headed by Archdeacon Nies, the pastor of the American Church, has sent a protest to Washington demanding a hearing, and the same has been done by the British Relief Society. Mr. Gaffney has received hundreds of telegrams and letters of sympathy.

There is not a real American in Munich, nor for that matter in all Germany, but will be filled with astonishment and indignation at this act of gross injustice and incredible subservience to the power of slander, persecution and falsehood.

In view of the statements made in the London press, which were copied in America, that I had neglected the interests of British subjects and had been uncivil to them, I shall only call attention now to the following protest forwarded to Ambassador Gerard and the State Department and which was signed by the three leading members of the British Relief Committee. This document clearly shows that as far as the English were concerned I had performed with strict and exact fidelity all neutral duties.

"MR. T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY has shown us the complaint about alleged incivility of the Consul-General at Munich to British subjects. We, the British Relief Committee, who by his kindness had been allowed to set up an office at the Consulate to which the British can come

for advice and assistance, beg to protest most strongly against this aspersion, and with it to be distinctly understood that we have always received ever attention and kindness from the Consul and that in spite of the enormous claims on his time, he has always given us every facility to deal with him directly in matters relating to all British subjects.

The Consul-General has in a large measure entrusted us with the charge of British affairs and the distribution of relief and practically every case has passed through our hands. The Consul-General has always accompanied a member of the British Relief Committee to the military authorities when his presence was required. No complaint has ever reached us about want of courtesy on the part of the Consul-General or his assistants to British subjects.

He has also done his best to meet the varied requirements of our compatriots and to exercise the utmost patience, even when the demands were unreasonable.

SYLVIA M. WELSH

PROFESSOR REGINALD MAXSE

WILFRED H. WELLS

(Lecturer at Munich University)

(Signed) The British Relief Committee.

The following cable was also sent to the State Department in Washington by the same committee:

STATE DEPARTMENT, Washington.

English residents regret the unwarranted English newspaper attacks upon Consul-General Gaffney and deny that he showed any bias in treatment of English. Consul enjoys full confidence of English residents.

For British Relief Committee,

SYLVIA WELSH, Secretary.

Among the well-known British residents who also protested against the unfair attacks on me were Mrs. C. Bemelmans, sister of the noted Sir Arthur Nicolson, permanent under-secretary in the British Foreign Office and the Honorable Mary Portman, daughter of Lord Portman.

My Resignation Is Requested

ON the first day of October, 1915, I received the following dispatch from Washington which was signed by Secretary of State Lansing:

THE President will accept your resignation from the consular service if transmitted immediately. Your successor will be appointed without delay.

I at once answered:

WHAT are the reasons for such action? I will be able to disprove any charges if given opportunity. If, however, President insists on resignation without a hearing, it is tendered though unconscious of any grounds.

I was not furnished with any statement by the Department of State, and *my only source of information at that time was the English press!* In fact, I never received a hearing nor was I afforded an opportunity of defending my character before an official Board of Enquiry by the presentation of evidence or witnesses. I was entitled to this under the rules then governing the consular service.

I Lend My Support to the Irish Fight for Freedom

THE London press which had announced the President's intention, before I received word from my government, did not restrain its joy over the news of my dismissal. If my English enemies, however, thought that they would render me innocuous by bringing about my separation from the consular service they made a great error. While I was an officer of the United States, I was naturally debarred from countenancing or aiding the revolution which was then breaking out in Ireland. My resignation gave me the rights of a free agent and for the remainder of the war and until the peace which established the Irish Free State I devoted all my thought and energy, by propaganda and otherwise, to the support of the Irish fight for freedom, as will appear in the course of these memoirs.

While it was a great disappointment for me to lose my career in the foreign service of America, I was richly rewarded by having had an opportunity of helping my compatriots in Ireland and doing my share for the liberation of my native land from the English yoke.

Additional Newspaper Comments About My Resignation

From a number of articles which appeared in the press in regard to my resignation, I cite the following which is from the pen of H. G. Scheffauer, a well-known American, then resi-

dent in Berlin, and is indicative of the opinion of my countrymen in Germany as to Wilson's action. It appeared October 20, 1915:

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE CASE OF ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

MR. WOODROW WILSON, erstwhile President of Princeton University and now, unfortunately, of the United States, has carried into the White House not only the habits of the pedant but has assumed even the powers of the despot. This combination of scholastic narrow-mindedness and doctrinaire rigidity amounting almost to positive fanaticism, coupled with that excess of personal power which our forefathers thought fit to place into the hands of our national hero and liberator, Washington, has produced those exhibitions of mental and political intemperance of which Woodrow Wilson has made himself guilty since his purely theoretical proclamation of a purely theoretical neutrality. If, in addition to these unfortunate and even dangerous limitations of soul and character, we add the inherited prejudices and cultivated predilections of one whose mind is totally under the obsession of English traditions and whose ill-written histories attest his comparative ignorance of the very civilization he so admires, we must regard all the ghastly unfairness and injustice of which this servant of the American people has made himself guilty as the inevitable effect of an established cause.

All these tendencies are exemplified in Wilson's treatment of the Hon. St. John Gaffney, until lately Consul-General of the United States at Munich. Obedient to the commands of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, and swayed wholly by the slanders of the *London Morning Post*, Mr. Wilson removed this capable and tried official from his post, without giving him the slightest opportunity for justifying himself nor even of learning the charge preferred against him. Of course in the eyes of an administration so grossly Anglophile as to add insolence to its travesty of mock neutrality, he had been guilty of a great crime... namely, in publishing a letter in the *New York World* to the effect that Americans were not molested in Germany and might travel about almost as in times of peace. This obvious duty of an American Consul in presenting the true conditions in so far as they concerned his countrymen was naturally interpreted as an exposé of the prevailing crude English falsehoods. In thus rightly interfering with an English attempt to prejudice Americans against a friendly country by false statements regarding their treatment in the very city to which he was accredited, Mr. Gaffney performed a duty that lies obviously within the province of a consular representative. But Mr. Gaffney was relieved of his post and exposed to the reflection upon himself implied in the charge. It is things like these that madden and disgust all true Americans living in this much-abused and misunderstood land. And it is the revolting spectacle of our Anglophiles prostrating themselves

before the feet of the most cunning and unscrupulous government in the world that makes us shudder for the future of our nation. When the true measures of these leaders of ours are taken in the days to come—when impartial history applies her scales and measuring-rod, the world will be given to know how in the most momentous crisis in the course of nations our own was betrayed by men without a particle of strength of soul or a fragment of moral courage.

Had Mr. Gaffney been stoutly pro-British in his attitude, like Page, instead of consistently American, he might have remained undisturbed in his office, for it is well known that our consular and diplomatic service is simply larded with British sympathizers. But Mr. Gaffney was not only a man who interpreted his duties positively, but he was also of Irish birth . . . which is another cause for rendering one suspect in London and Washington today. In all cases of crass and violent wrongs no prophet is needed to foretell that the day of reckoning will come and let us hope it will not be long delayed.

The following significant editorial appeared in the *Continental Times* (Berlin):

THE CASE OF MR. GAFFNEY

FOR Americans in Germany to comment calmly upon the case of our Consul-General at Munich requires the cunning and evasive tongue of a dishonest Old World diplomat of the school of Talleyrand rather than the simple straightforward utterance of Americans still conscious of their citizenship, their supposed birthright of free speech and the esteem in which the ideals of their country were once held.

We believe from our personal intercourse and observation that nearly every thinking American in Germany feels his whole sympathy go out to this heroic people beset by a world of raving and relentless enemies and vilified by incessant clouds and torrents of falsehood and abuse. To such Americans (and surely their verdict and opinion immeasurably overtops that of those frantic Anglomaniacs under the ban of our pro-Ally press) the acts and attitude of our administration are a source of constant amusement, anger and shame. They see with fear and with indignation the incessant surrender of our immemorial pride to the basest intrigues of alien politicians and domestic plutocrats. They see one wrong heaped upon another, they see miserable technicalities held up to excuse monumental crimes against an entire people, they see a political and moral abjectness in certain Americans that is one of the gravest perils in the path of the republic. They see an interpretation of neutrality that is at once a cynical farce and an insolent outrage. They see the great masses of our land, misguided, uninformed and deceived, writhe in the clutches of an unspeakable press. They see all this, true Americans that they are, and the spectacle appalls them. And they have no words for the saddened and wondering questions with which the injured German appeals to that common sense and that

feeling of justice he has been told were such characteristic American qualities.

One must either say too little about the case of Mr. Gaffney—or else keep silent—out of consideration for our own countrymen in this hospitable, but clear-thinking land. We would merely remark under the circumstances that it is but one more instance of the grotesque injustice already committed on behalf of England and against Germany. This meticulous concern for neutrality where Germany and Austro-Hungary are concerned and the flagrant violation of it on behalf of the Allies must remain one of the darkest pages in our history.

The recall of Mr. Gaffney—who is well able to defend himself if given the opportunity—must be considered not only a grave mistake, but a blunder even from the point of view of pro-Allyism. For even if the flimsy charges trumped up by lying English diplomacy and unscrupulous newspapers against this American Consul-General were true, the authorities who are entrusted with our national dignity might at least have pointed with some satisfaction to one poor, pathetic little instance, amidst the long, long catalogue of their capitulations—in which they did *not* give way to the pressure of Downing Street, Fleet Street and Park Row.

As a sample of the character of the attacks made upon me by the New York press, I quote the following articles from the New York *Herald*:

DISCLOSURES OPEN INQUIRY INTO MR. GAFFNEY'S ACTS
THE "HERALD'S" REVELATIONS OF SECRET MESSAGES THROUGH
AUSTRIANS STIR OFFICIALS—MATTER OF DISMISSAL IS NOW
UNDER CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON

Herald Bureau, No. 1,502 H Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C., Saturday.

By its revelation of the fact that the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Consul-General's office in New York has been serving as a medium for the transmission of secret mail to Thomas St. John Gaffney, American Consul-General in Munich, Germany, the *Herald* has added a new and mystifying chapter to the record of a man who is admitted to be on the verge of dismissal from the consular service because of his indiscretions, his violent pro-German and anti-British sympathies and his *bitter opposition to the foreign policies of President Wilson*.

A long list of offences has been recorded against Mr. Gaffney and his dismissal has been recommended. This matter is now under consideration here, but the offences have been in the nature of improprieties. It is felt here that the *Herald's* revelations may serve to open up a new field for investigation into Mr. Gaffney's activities, one alto-

gether distinct from those actions which have been classed by officials here as improprieties and indiscretions.

Interest as to what was the nature of the correspondence carried on between Mr. Gaffney and Dennis A. Spellissy, who is treasurer of the American Committee of the Irish National Volunteers, and which was intrusted to the Austrian government agents for transmission, obviously for the purpose of keeping it out of the hands of the United States authorities, is naturally heightened here by the knowledge that Mr. Gaffney is a violent antagonist of England in the present war and has not hesitated openly and publicly to deliver himself of attacks upon England and of praise for Germany.

LETTER WOULD HAVE BEEN READ

State Department officials say that Mr. Spellissy was right in the conjecture he made to a *Herald* reporter to the effect that his letter to Mr. Gaffney would have been read in the State Department if he had intrusted it to the usual official channels. All private mail to American consular officers in Germany is being read and censored. But had Mr. Spellissy had no objections to his letter being read by Mr. Gaffney's superior officers in the government service he could not possibly have found a safer or better means for its transmission than by way of the State Department. Consequently, it is considered here that there could have been but one reason why Mr. Spellissy intrusted his letter to the Austrian agents, namely, that it was a letter addressed to a representative of the United States government which the writer did not want the United States government officials at Washington to see.

This letter, also, must have been of more than common importance, it is said here, because the Austrians must have forwarded it to Europe through a special messenger who would have to run the same risks as did James F. J. Archibald. Mail slipped through the enemies' lines in this fashion must be sifted so that only the most important and essential documents are carried.

Whether action will be taken to sever Mr. Gaffney's connection with the consular service on the basis of the reports already in the hands of the State Department or whether the administration will now press its investigation further so as to include the information revealed by the *Herald* cannot be determined today.

CRITICISMS HAVE BEEN REPORTED

There is said to be ample evidence to warrant Mr. Gaffney's dismissal at the present moment and entirely independent of the *Herald's* information. Mr. Gaffney's criticisms of the administration's foreign policy, which he considers pro-Ally and anti-German, has already been made the subject of official report. Moreover, as the *Herald* today stated, numerous complaints have been made of Mr. Gaffney's treatment of Americans in Munich, and especially of British subjects who

were intrusted to his official care by reason of the United States having assumed charge of British interests in Germany.

In one instance Mr. Gaffney openly commended and indorsed articles published by the *Continental Times*, a German propagandist organ, which strongly criticized the foreign policy of the Wilson administration in connection with the war. The title of one of these articles accused Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, of bad faith in the handling of foreign questions. Mr. Gaffney also has written other open articles to newspapers bitterly assailing Great Britain and upholding the German cause. *The British government has officially complained of his conduct*, and other of the allied governments, through their representatives here, have interested themselves in the question of Mr. Gaffney's removal.

It is admitted that the State Department has been lenient in dealing with Mr. Gaffney, but this was for reasons of policy. In view of the heat of the conflict and of the strained relations between the United States and Germany it was thought best to avoid drastic action in Mr. Gaffney's case, if that were possible.

QUESTIONED ABOUT CONDUCT

Even before the outbreak of the war Mr. Gaffney was brought to Washington to answer criticisms of his official conduct, and although he escaped dismissal at that time largely at the instance of Mr. Bryan, whose German critics Mr. Gaffney has since applauded, he received warnings couched in the strongest language against repetitions of his indiscretions.

Although appointed to office by Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Gaffney has been able to bring powerful political influence to bear in the present administration. But he seems to have been utterly heedless of profiting from the efforts made by his political friends to keep him in office and, according to reports received at the State Department from private citizens who have been in Munich during the war, Mr. Gaffney has not hesitated to criticize President Wilson and his actions.

It is because of his insistent expressions of views, considered here to be improper in a consular official and in violation of President Wilson's admonitions as to the neutrality of speech to be observed by American citizens, that the case of Consul-General Gaffney has again been taken up.

ST. JOHN GAFFNEY DIRECTED BY CABLE TO RESIGN OFFICE
PUBLIC SERVICE OF AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT MUNICH TO END
IN THREE DAYS

Herald Bureau, No. 1,502 H Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C., Tuesday.

THOMAS ST. JOHN GAFFNEY, American Consul-General at Munich, who has been under fire because of his anti-British proclivities and his

indiscreet criticisms of President Wilson's foreign policies, was directed by cable today to tender his resignation. The resignation will be accepted immediately. Mr. Gaffney's public service will end within three days.

Since the report was received here of Mr. Gaffney's indiscreet and open opposition to the policies of his own government there has been no question whatever that he would be removed from the consular service. It was considered even by Mr. Gaffney's personal friends in the government service to be impossible to retain him in such a representative post under the circumstances.

Objection to the retention of Mr. Gaffney in his consular post at Munich reached a head when the *Herald*, four days ago, revealed the fact that the Austrian government had been forwarding secret messages to him from Irish nationalists within the United States. This fact fitted in so suspiciously with the fact reported to Washington from Germany that Mr. Gaffney had been associating in Munich with Sir Roger Casement, the Irish traitor to the British government, that fear took hold of certain persons here that Mr. Gaffney might have allowed his extreme anti-British and pro-German sympathies to have carried him past the point of indiscretion.

HIS EXTREME IRISH VIEWS

Mr. Gaffney's partisan view in the European conflict was due entirely to his extreme views upon the Irish nationalist issue. It was obvious that he viewed Germany as a possible conqueror of England, who would destroy British rule in Ireland and give that country, Mr. Gaffney's native land, its independence. Sir Roger Casement carries his views upon this subject to the point of advocating revolt in Ireland against England, and he has spread his doctrine in the United States.

Had Mr. Gaffney gone so far as to associate himself with such a seditious movement against a government with which the United States is at peace, his offence would have been extremely grave and might have caused serious embarrassment to the United States.

There is no evidence that Mr. Gaffney went so far, but the fact that he was in communication *through the Austrian government with Irish leaders in this country* who are understood to entertain such views and that he was openly associating with Sir Roger Casement himself laid him open to the gravest suspicion. Naturally a deep relief is felt by persons here that he has been severed from the consular service, and under the circumstances they are well content, where the apple reddens, not to pry.

In regard to the impropriety of Mr. Gaffney's action, it is felt that there is not the slightest question. As American Consul-General at Munich he was the representative in certain important functions of the British government, and yet he was openly entertaining traitors against that government. Moreover, he was lending his name openly to a German propaganda which was devoted largely to abuse of the

policies of the United States government, and the Germans were widely advertising this fact through the Continental press.

The facts in the *Herald's* charge were as follows:

A New York lawyer named D. A. Spellissy, whom I had not seen or corresponded with in twenty years, desired to send me a harmless letter of sympathy at the abuse that was directed against me in the Anglo-American press. Mr. Spellissy was aware that the United States mail in contravention of international law but with the acquiescence of our government, was being taken from American and neutral ships by the English; so it occurred to him to ask the Austrian Consul, with whom he was acquainted, to forward it to me. I never received the letter or any other communication from Mr. Spellissy and even if I had, I could not have been held accountable for the contents of a letter written to me without my knowledge or consent.

In violation of international law and custom, the Austrian consulate was broken into by secret agents of the United States government and numerous official documents removed. Amongst these papers was found Mr. Spellissy's innocent letter which had not been forwarded. This outrageous proceeding took place long previous to our entrance into the war when we were supposed to be neutral in "thought and action."

The owner and publisher of the New York *Herald* which published this ridiculous story was the notorious James Gordon Bennett, a discredited expatriated "one-hundred-per-center" who for forty years had edited his "American" paper from the boulevards of Paris.

CHAPTER X

A REMARKABLE LETTER TO
AMBASSADOR GERARD

AFTER having cabled my resignation to the State Department, I sent the following letter to Gerard with the request that he forward a copy to Secretary of State Lansing:

Munich, 12 October, 1915,
Theaterinstrasse.

HIS EXCELLENCY, J. W. GERARD,
American Ambassador,
Berlin.

Excellency: Now that an act of exceptional injustice has been successfully accomplished and I am no longer a member of the United States Consular Service, I am at liberty to deal plainly with a situation that involves not only an unscrupulous attack upon me as an individual but an insolent attack upon the whole body of American citizens and the right of that citizenship to appoint its public officers *without interference by a foreign power.*

For it is clear, and I propose to make it abundantly clear, first to your Excellency as the American Ambassador in Germany and next to my fellow-citizens in America, that I am assailed and ejected from a public office of my country, not because I have failed in the discharge of my public duties in Munich but because I am *persona non grata* to a foreign country that, from the first day of my appointment as a United States Consular officer, has attacked me, through its press, on grounds of its own internal policy that are no concern of my country or of the American government.

In carrying this long-sustained assault against an American citizen to a triumphant conclusion today, the English press has publicly vindicated its secret claim to direct the foreign policy of the United States and has successfully asserted a right of recall over American officials in foreign lands who may hold opinions obnoxious to British imperialism.

I am sacrificed, not to the demand of my own countrymen, not because I have failed in my duty to them, not because any open charge has been preferred against me in my own country or by my own countrymen, but because a foreign press, the recognized agency of a foreign government, directly controlled by its War Department, has assailed me on grounds of my nationality, of my birthright, of my independence of mind and character, which they hold to be detrimental to the interests of their country and to British success in the present war.

THE GROUND FOR ATTACK ON ME

The ground of attack upon me, from the first day I had the honor to be appointed a United States Consul-General, was that I was an Irishman by birth and an independent American citizen in fact, whose views were recognized as being entirely outside the power of Downing Street or Fleet Street to control. As such, as an American citizen who could not be won or bribed, or coaxed or cozened into the British camp, I was a marked man, and when the war came, as the *London Morning Post* recently put it, I became "the one black spot" in an otherwise irreproachable service on whose support Great Britain was entitled to lean in all her diplomatic necessities.

AN ATTACK BY THE "TIMES"

At the date of my appointment to the post of Consul-General in Dresden, the *London Times* permitted itself, on February 25th, 1905, over ten years ago, to thus comment on the character of a public act of the President of the United States:

"AN AMERICAN CONSULAR APPOINTMENT

(From our own correspondent)

Washington, February 24, 1905.

MR. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY's appointment to be Consul General in Dresden is unofficially announced—an act of personal friendship by the President, they say. Mr. Gaffney is widely known as an advanced Irish-American, something more than a Home Ruler and an active agent in those Irish movements against England of which this country is made the base. He will do considerably less harm in Dresden than in America."

*

An American Consul, it will be observed, should be chosen not as the President decrees but as London desires.

In 1905 the organ of the British foreign office preferred to have me as an American Consul in Germany to residing as a citizen of the United States at home where I might do "harm," whereas in 1915 the same organ of the same instrument of British policy prefers that

I should cease to be an American Consul abroad and become an American citizen at home, and insists along with other organs of the London office that I am an embodied violation of British conceptions of neutrality.

If these conceptions are to dictate the public acts of an American Consul, are to control his judgment, are to compel him to take sides and to malign and calumniate the people among whom he is appointed to reside, then I glory in the charge.

I am not only an embodied violation of such conceptions of neutrality: *I am an outrage upon them.*

They are detestable invasions upon the liberty of an American citizen, and the fact that I am assailed by the London war press in inspired articles and my recall insisted on by a band of foreign editors rigidly controlled by the military censorship of a belligerent power is the best proof that the attitude they attack is that of a true neutral.

Had I departed from the dictates of the honest neutrality these exponents of English war needs find so hurtful to their campaigns, then indeed I should have merited the action taken against me.

THE OPEN SORE

It is not my neutrality that is in question—it is my nationality.

I am attacked and vilified, and sacrificed, not because I have not been impartial, or neutral, or have been unfair in my dealings with those who sought my aid, but because born a British subject I abandoned that allegiance, became by choice and affection a citizen of the United States and a staunch upholder of American integrity and independence.

It is these things that are aimed at and not me, the man, and in sacrificing the man to these enemies of American institutions, it is the integrity and independence of our country that are handed over to the custody and service of a foreign state.

In resisting this outrageous assault upon an American Consul I contend not only for my rights as a citizen, my liberty as an individual, my standing as an official, but I am asserting the honor of my country.

MY RECORD HAS NEVER BEEN CHALLENGED

FOR ten years now I have filled the post of an American Consul General in Germany. No official complaint, as far as I am aware, has ever been brought against me.

Complaints there may be, probably complaints there always are against a Consul of any nationality made by his own countrymen upon some point of a trivial personal or petty character that a man would have to be an angel not sometimes to incur.

But I am not dismissed today because I am not an angel, *but because I am an American and not an Anglo-maniac!*

I am entitled to believe and assert that nothing existed against me warranting my dismissal from the public service of my country up to the end of July last.

On July 27th your Excellency did me the honor to invite me to luncheon at the Embassy in Berlin. Had it been within your Excellency's knowledge that I was failing in the discharge of my duties as an American Consul it was your duty to have apprised me of the fact and to have indicated wherein I should alter my conduct.

On the contrary, far from correction I received a hospitable official welcome at your hands and in all our conversation no hint was conveyed to me that the Ambassador of my country had any cause of complaint against me or was aware that such had been preferred.

Yet at that very date the *Morning Post*, an English newspaper, presumed to attack me as an American Consul, basing an embittered editorial criticism on the fact of a letter I had addressed to the American press dealing with the true situation of American citizens here in Munich that had been misrepresented in the London press, in an effort to vilify the people and government of Bavaria. It was my duty as an American Consul to point out, as I did point out in my letter to the *New York World* of July 20th, that, far from being assaulted and maltreated in Bavaria, as the English press had asserted, Americans within my Consular jurisdiction were in all respects enjoying the most complete security and were even the objects of courtesy and regard.

For that vindication of the correctitude of the legal German attitude towards my countrymen I am singled out for abuse and vilification by the officially controlled press of a country at war with Germany.

TO WHOM IS AN AMERICAN CONSUL RESPONSIBLE?

THESE attacks by the organs of a foreign government press bureau were renewed again and again in the months of August and September. On August 12th the *Morning Post* and on September 27th the *Times* returned to the assault, but my own government and my own Ambassador say nothing and ask me no question.

To whom am I as an American Consul answerable?

To the "Times" and "Morning Post" or to the United States government and its Ambassador?

My own government, my own Ambassador ask me no questions, make no complaint, raise no objection to any act of mine, public or private, but a foreign press under the military censorship of a government at war with the people whose friendship it is my duty to win assails me repeatedly.

And the chief ground of their complaint is that I am well disposed to the people of the country whose friendship and good will I am sent here expressly to cultivate and maintain.

Finally, with no question put to me, *the man on the spot, by my own government, I am apprised through this foreign press that I am called upon to resign my post as American Consul General.* The first intimation received in Munich that my conduct was viewed with disfavor by the government I am responsible to was conveyed in an announcement of the English press that my resignation was being demanded by the President on the grounds of my "pro-German sympathies."

This first announcement was made by Reuter's press agency and was confirmed by statements in the *London Times* of the 27th of September.

On September 30th I received a cablegram from the State Department asking for my resignation—*no grounds are given; no reason assigned; no explanation asked!*

I am tried and judged without a hearing, at the demand of foreign newspapers, and the only information vouchsafed me as to the reason for my trial and judgment comes not from my own country or government but from those foreign scribes who assailed my appointment ten years ago, who had already tried and judged me because born under the British flag I had not remained loyal to it, and whose chief charge against me is that I am an American and not a British agent.

I venture to assert that it is a new conception of American justice that an officer of high standing, of long service, of reputation should be dismissed from his country's service without a word put to him, a hint conveyed to him, or an explanation sought of him by those he is responsible to, but with many attacks made upon him by those who have no right to discuss his attitude or to prescribe his action.

ALL I ASK IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEFEND MYSELF

I AM prepared to meet every charge that can be brought against me by my own countrymen or the Department of a State whose officer I have been. I ask only to have the charge against me stated openly. I am prepared to meet it openly.

I am not prepared to tolerate that I should be dismissed from my post—for an enforced resignation without reason given is dismissal—without explanation and without being permitted to defend myself.

I have the rights of a man as well as of a citizen.

I have my honor as a man to defend and uphold—and that I shall maintain.

I am assailed openly, outrageously, by the press of a foreign government and country, and I am tried secretly and on evidence withheld from me by the government of my own country.

I am entitled to know the charges on which the judgment has

been passed, and I was entitled to be heard in my defense before that judgment was passed.

If official justice has been done me as an American Consul denied the grounds on which action can be taken against him, national justice has been violated in thus dealing with an American citizen, his honor and fair name and in publicly degrading him in the eyes of his own countrymen in a foreign land and in the most wounding and offensive manner.

Were I accused of a criminal act I should have the right of knowing the charge against me, of defending myself, of rebutting the evidence and adducing evidence in my favor, but as a high representative of the American people I am denied the rights of a criminally accused man and I am treated and ordered with a pistol at my head to resign a post I have filled with honor and pride for many years.

Denied a hearing at my post of American Consul in a foreign country, I shall insist on a hearing as a citizen in my own.

There may be no law to protect me as an American public officer from attack by a band of hired moral assassins with the pen, but there is a tribunal and a law-making power to which every American citizen can appeal.

There is the sense of justice, of honor, of fair play, implanted in the heart of the American people and to that I can appeal with confidence and shall appeal with pride.

As an officer of the American people, I have not failed in my duty to them or in the trust they confided to me through their President and Senate.

While the one dismisses me without a hearing and hands me over to the hired penmen of a foreign country to deride, the other, I am confident, will not close its ear to the plea for justice and fair play of an American citizen who seeks only to be tried by the American people and not by the English press.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant.

(Signed) T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

I had entertained, however, too high an opinion of the sense of justice and fair play of my compatriots at home. As the result of the delirium and frenzy inspired by the British press their mentality had atrophied to such a degree that the average American even in high station could or would no longer differentiate between right and wrong. In fact, he had submitted himself as a voluntary victim to every lie and canard that came from London, and during such a condition of popular insanity there was no hope of an appeal for justice at Washington.

In Germany, as soon as our diplomatic and consular officers began to suspect that Wilson was determined to lead our country into the war, their personal and official conduct, with few exceptions, underwent a remarkable change. Chameleon-like, they adapted themselves to the Washington outlook and showed pro-Ally colors while pretending to be neutral.

Gerard Adopts An Unmistakable Pro-Ally Stand

PARTICULARLY was this noticeable in the case of Gerard. Although not so openly pronounced in his attitude as his pro-British colleague in London, he made no disguise of the alteration in his feelings. It is my opinion that he became politically stage-struck. He wanted to have a prominent part in the great drama which was being staged in America. His actions and behavior showed that he had lost the last trace of chivalrous impartiality and clearly disclosed his anxiety to conciliate the powers at Washington and float with them wherever the tide flowed. He probably dreamed in his ambition that by emulating the official and popular hysteria at home, the current of political preferment might land him in the seat of New York mayor or United States senator, *or perhaps make him a presidential possibility to succeed Wilson!* As events have proved, he made a ghastly blunder. His undignified conduct, his sensational interviews and writings which he believed would give him a national career made his advancement impossible. Although for a time it appeared that Wilson had found in him a weapon sharpened to his liking, subsequent happenings proved that Gerard had even gone farther than was countenanced by the autocrat in the White House. He must have exceeded Wilson's standards and instructions to some degree, as upon his return to America after we entered the war, "the great War President" refused to come down from Mount Sinai to give him an audience. Like another diplomat of his stripe by the name of Morgenthau, he has been politically dead since his return to America. The notorious book dealing with the Kaiser and the Imperial Court to which he affixed his name, let us hope in a period of mental aberration, ruined any chances which he might aspire to in the future of returning to the diplomatic service. A due

regard for common decency and the obligations of good breeding would forbid such a calamity.

Morgenthau's Attitude

THE equally scandalous publication, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, which it is said was not written by Morgenthau but by Hendrick, the editor of the letters of Page, is another example of the character of the Entente Wilson diplomats. In this volume, amongst other lies and fabrications, Morgenthau devotes an entire chapter to a mythical "war council" which he alleged was held at Potsdam by the Kaiser on July 5, 1914, for the purpose of organizing and launching the World War. Although this "war council" story has been repudiated by all historians, including Poincaré, *Morgenthau has not had the moral courage to withdraw or apologize for the shameless fiction.*

The Reflection of These Two Men in the Last National Election

THE prominence in the recent Democratic National Campaign Committee of the two notorious Wilson democrats, Gerard and Morgenthau, contributed more than any other factor to the failure of Governor Smith to win the support of the German-American voters. This large element of our population was predisposed toward the Governor on account of his liberal attitude on the liquor question and would naturally have cast their ballots for him. Although Smith was warned by German-American friends that his success was being compromised by the activities of Gerard and Morgenthau, he persisted, despite numerous protests, in retaining them amongst his closest advisers.

In fact, as a special tribute, Governor Smith selected Morgenthau as the only speaker to follow him on the occasion of his final appeal to the voters on the night preceding election day.

There is no doubt that Morgenthau and Gerard would have received high recognition if Smith had been elected, the former as a member of the Cabinet and Gerard as Ambassador to the Court of St. James, a post to which he has always

aspired. Fortunately, the intelligence and patriotism of the American electorate as manifested on election day spared the nation from such a disaster.

Lewis Einstein

ANOTHER American diplomat of German-Jewish origin, Lewis Einstein by name, invited much hostile criticism by his unneutral conduct in Constantinople before we entered the war. So partial to the officials and cause of the Entente was the behavior of Einstein as to even render his presence *persona non grata* to Morgenthau and his staff and he was therefore transferred to Sofia. Previous to the advent of Einstein in Constantinople, he had been attached to our embassies in London and Paris. His transfer from two Entente capitals to the Sublime Port and Sofia was a suspicious circumstance on its face and did not reflect sound judgment on our State Department which was supposed to be neutral. Mr. George A. Schreiner, the special representative of the Associated Press, who was in Constantinople and Sofia during Einstein's diplomatic activities, makes the following reference to him in his well-known book, *The Craft Sinister*, page 184:

MEN in the Sofia Foreign Office had charged Mr. Einstein with being not only the diplomatic agent of the several Entente governments but their most able *agent provocateur* besides. The rumor that Mr. Einstein had been sent to Constantinople at the special request of Monsieur Jusserand (French Ambassador at Washington) would not down, and when the man appeared in Sofia after having been attached to the American Diplomatic Missions in London and Paris, the report grew into a fact, as such facts go.

Notwithstanding the undisguised pro-Ally conduct of Einstein, which was a matter of notoriety in diplomatic circles, and of which the State Department had been repeatedly advised, Wilson retained him in the service and he is at present our Minister Plenipotentiary in Prague.*

In a later chapter I will deal with a man by the name of Stoval, who was Wilson's envoy in Switzerland, hence will omit detailed discussion of him at this time.

* President Hoover has retired Einstein.

Among the American consuls in Europe who obtained notoriety on account of their undisguised pro-Ally attitude, I particularly recall the names of Listoe, Bergholz and a man named Pike. Listoe, a naturalized Dane, was our Consul-General at Rotterdam and rivaled Van Dyke in his ardent pro-British sympathy. The Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, the noted Wilson "neutral" Professor, later advocated "hanging everyone whether or not he be a candidate for Mayor, who lifted a voice against America entering the war." This outburst was evoked by the candidacy for Mayor of New York of the pacifist Morris Hillquit who polled 130,000 votes, almost defeating Van Dyke's war candidate Mitchel. So flagrant was the unneutral behavior of Van Dyke and Listoe, the diplomatic representatives of our country in Holland, as to cause embarrassment to the Dutch Ministry and protests by the representatives of the Central Powers to their respective governments.

In Dresden, Bergholz, our Consul-General, although of German origin, was so pro-Ally in his personal and official relations as to arouse the criticism not only of his countrymen but the Saxon press.

Pike's unneutral conduct in St. Gall caused indignant protests from the American residents there and the Swiss authorities.

My object in recalling these disagreeable facts is to show the unfair discrimination with which I was treated by Wilson. If I had been offensively pro-British like these officials, I would have merited the approval of the President and certainly would not have been disturbed at my post.

I refused, however, to permit my conscience and sense of right and truth to be stifled in the interest of the Entente, which, I was convinced, was responsible for the war.

CHAPTER XI

THE AMAZING CONDUCT OF WALTER HINES PAGE, WILSON'S AMBASSADOR IN LONDON

Colonel House's course, in several important instances during the Peace Conference, undermined and weakened Wilson. Mr. Churchill, who is plainly an admirer of Colonel House, gives us a most illuminating explanation. "House," he says, "adapted himself to the relaxing atmosphere of Europe."

APRIL

WHILE Wilson cheerfully surrendered to English influence in terminating my official career on the alleged ground that I was not neutral, his bosom friend, Walter Hines Page, Ambassador in London, was covertly conspiring with Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, to discredit and frustrate the instructions he received from the State Department. The treacherous conduct of Page and his frequent betrayal of our interests had been repeatedly called to the President's attention, without any action on his part to uphold the dignity of the United States by a suitable disavowal or reprimand of this faithless public servant. Grey gives several instances of Page's extraordinary solicitude for England's victory in the war. The most astounding case he describes as follows:

PAGE came to see me at the Foreign Office one day and produced a long dispatch from Washington contesting our claim to act as we were doing in stopping contraband going to neutral ports.

"I am instructed," he said, "to read this dispatch to you." He read and I listened.

He then said: "I have now read the dispatch, but I do not agree with it; let us consider how it should be answered."

The pro-Entente newspaper, the *New York Times*, in commenting on this incident said, editorially:

For a parallel to this action the records of diplomacy would probably be searched in vain. . . . To act as Ambassador Page did was to follow a course for which it would be difficult to find a precedent and which could not be made common in diplomatic practice without demoralizing and disastrous consequences.

The "Dacia" Affair

ANOTHER amazing act of Page occurred in connection with the American ship *Dacia*. Hendrick, the publisher of the Page letters, in approving comment of this gross betrayal of his country's rights, has the effrontery to say: "This suggestion from Page was one of the great inspirations of the war. It amounted to little less than genius."

Not only does Hendrick support Page but he distorts the facts of the case. The *Dacia* was American owned, American manned, flew the American flag, and had American registry according to the laws of the United States and the opinion of the Solicitor of the State Department. She was loaded with cotton at that time (1915), *not contraband*, and it would have been a serious matter for England to seize her, but Page's sole object in London appears to have been to help England, regardless of the rights and protests of the American government. When the *Dacia* sailed he hurried to his friend Grey, the English Foreign Secretary, and advised him in order to avoid any difficulty with America to notify the French Marine to capture the ship. It is beyond belief to realize that an American Ambassador should conspire with the government to which he was accredited to bring about the capture and confiscation of an American ship by a foreign power! This scandalous and traitorous transaction took place *two years before our entrance into the war*. During his term of office, Page tolerated all English violation of international law and diplomatic usage, even to the extent of acquiescing in the seizure of the United States mails and the searching of the baggage of all Americans, diplomatic officers below the rank of minister who happened to be held up by British agents, while on their way to and from their posts.

What Professor Gooch Says of Page

PROFESSOR G. P. GOOCH, the noted English historian, who has been chosen by his government to publish the British War Documents, says in regard to Page, in his latest book, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*:

KNOWING little of American opinion and sharing the view of Kitchener and French that only entry of the United States could turn compromise into victory, he became rather the interpreter of British views to Washington than the spokesman of the White House to Downing Street.

This Is What C. Hartley Grattan Said in "American Mercury"

IN a scathing criticism of Page's diplomatic career which appeared in the *American Mercury* of September, 1925, C. Hartley Grattan said:

MR. PAGE's conduct cannot be excused as some have tried to excuse it on the ground that he meant well and had uppermost in his mind only the promotion of a great cause, Anglo-American unity. That was also the *obsession of Benedict Arnold* in the later days of the American Revolution and he worked for it in a more direct and courageous fashion. . . . Much more assistance was rendered to the sacred cause by Page's consistent opposition to, and obstruction of, the State Department's struggle for neutral rights. Wilson's guilt in this business springs from the fact that he continued Page as Ambassador in the face of the latter's persistent unneutral activities. By implication he connived with Page and consequently must bear his part of the blame. . . . Page had assisted in getting a powerful neutral to acquiesce in unprecedented indignities and had ruined the historic position of the United States as the defender of all neutrals, great and small.

No such formidable indictment was ever raised against me by Wilson or his Secretary of State Lansing, nor was I ever charged with plotting in the German Foreign Office to oppose or obstruct the orders of the State Department.

The Amazing Secret Agreement Between Colonel House and President Wilson

THROUGH the letters of Colonel House and the *Memoirs* of Sir Edward Grey, we have further become acquainted with the

astounding fact that Wilson signed a secret document on February 22, 1916, at the behest of House, and instructed the Colonel to submit it to the English Minister. The substance of this remarkable paper as recorded by Grey is as follows:

CONFIDENTIAL, Colonel House told me that President Wilson was ready on hearing from France and England that the moment was opportune, to propose that a conference should be summoned to put an end to the war against Germany. Colonel House expressed the opinion that if such a conference met it would secure peace on terms *not unfavorable to the Allies*, and if it failed to secure peace the United States would leave the conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies, if Germany was unreasonable.

The only change made in the original House memorandum by Wilson, was to insert the word "probably" before "leave the conference as a belligerent."

Therefore, while Wilson was declaring in his public utterances that he would keep the country out of war and permitted himself to be renominated on such a platform, he had, without the knowledge or consent of the United States Senate, and without any reason or justification, signed a proposal to join the Allies as a belligerent. This agreement concocted by House and Wilson is one of the most discreditable examples of that secret diplomacy which the President was so loudly denouncing in his speeches and messages to Congress. The proposal framed by House was simply a well-devised trap to place Germany in a false position in the interest of the Allied Powers and was entirely inconsistent with the President's declaration of neutrality.

The President's signature to this secret agreement may explain his indifference to the persistent unneutral activities of his Ambassador. Reading between the lines of this paper, the meaning is clear. England and France would naturally invoke the Wilson-House plan of a conference only in the event of their situation becoming doubtful. The document assures Grey, however, that the terms of peace would not be unfavorable to the Allies, which meant that Germany would be called on by Wilson to make sacrifices that would probably be impossible for her to agree to. This perfectly justifiable action of Germany would be utilized by Wilson without any other cause as a

pretext for projecting the United States into the European conflict. It is indeed a humiliation for fair-minded Americans to learn that fourteen months before we entered the war our President conspired with Colonel House, his unofficial agent, and Grey, the British Foreign Minister, to involve our country in the war without any excuse.

In the third and fourth volumes of *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* we have further information regarding the relations between Colonel House and President Wilson and how they were regarded by Lord Northcliffe, head of the British propaganda organization in our country. In a confidential dispatch to Winston Churchill, member of the British Cabinet, he says:

I HAVE long believed the war can only be won from here. . . . The Administration is entirely run by Wilson and House. Wilson's power is absolute and House is a wise assistant. Both are pro-English.

The difference between the case of the President's friends, Page, House, and myself, was that I worked for peace and to keep my country out of the war, while they, from the commencement of hostilities, used all their personal and official influence to inveigle us into it. What mattered to these men the sacrifice of two hundred thousand American dead and wounded and sixty billion American dollars, so long as England would be saved?

This record would not be complete without recalling the names of other stars of Wilsonian diplomacy who attained notoriety by their unneutral activities before our country entered the war. Van Dyke, Minister at The Hague, and Thomas Nelson Page, Ambassador in Rome, from the early days of the war openly and unashamedly violated the canons of neutrality laid down by the President in his memorable Declaration of Neutrality.

In his well-known book, previously quoted, *The Craft Sinister*, George A. Schreiner, the special correspondent of the Associated Press at The Hague, before our entry into the war, makes the following reference to the American Minister:

I KNEW only too well that Dr. Van Dyke, as the Minister of a neutral government, favored the British cause in Holland, as against the

cause of American and Dutch interests. He did this because he loathed the Germans, as he told his friends.

Commenting on an article written by Van Dyke in August, 1917, after his return to the United States, R. L. Orchelle, a well-known American publicist, wrote:

VAN DYKE's sin against historical truth, honour and the higher code is the heavier and blacker since his official position at The Hague undoubtedly should have enabled him to learn the truth about the war, about Germany and Germans. And yet like the veriest untravelled, unread newspaper hind, his mentality and his emotions remained galvanized and enthralled by British calumny from the very beginning—a capitulation of which an independent thinker would have been incapable.

Of objective judgment, discrimination or diplomatic form there is not a trace—it is the garish, rough-hewn all-white and all-black partisanship and aspersion of one who is either dupe or impostor.

There is hardly one statement affecting Germany in Van Dyke's article which cannot be proved to be a shameless distortion of fact or a one-sided presentation of which only the most unsavory little attorney would have been guilty.

A Little About Brand Whitlock

BRAND WHITLOCK, Wilson's envoy in Brussels, although entrusted with the protection of German interests, made no disguise of his sympathies with the Allies as soon as he discovered the President felt that way. After we entered the conflict to his great joy, as he readily admits, he published a book on his experiences in Belgium, which is on the same order as "Morgenthau's Story" and Gerard's notorious publication, a series of lies, fabrications, and misrepresentations of the most contemptible character. The book is never quoted by responsible historians and is classified with the works of Gerard, Morgenthau, and Beck as among the worst examples of the literature of war frenzy and hysteria. I cannot refrain from giving two instances of the mentality and character of this Wilson diplomat, in the first of which he seeks deliberately to deceive his readers. Referring to Poincaré's absence from Paris during the period immediately preceding the mobilization, this "truthful" chronicler explains that the President was at sea returning from his visit to Scandinavia. Poincaré's visit was to Russia where he and

Viviani, his foreign minister, were the guests of the Czar in St. Petersburg. According to all the evidence now available the French President encouraged and inflamed the war fever of the militarists, and it was as the result of his assurances of support that the Russian government finally decided on the mobilization which was the immediate cause of the war.

With ill grace Whitlock is forced to acknowledge the unvarying courtesy and attention shown him by the German authorities under the very difficult conditions prevailing in Belgium during the occupation. In response to a request to visit the front, he records how a special party was arranged for that purpose. Prince Rupprecht, of Bavaria, entertains him at dinner in his headquarters, and every possible civility and kindness is manifested to the distinguished American by all the high officers who were responsible for his safety. He is escorted with every precaution to one of the foremost trenches; English troops are occupying those opposite. Whitlock is invited to look through a periscope and writes his impressions as follows:

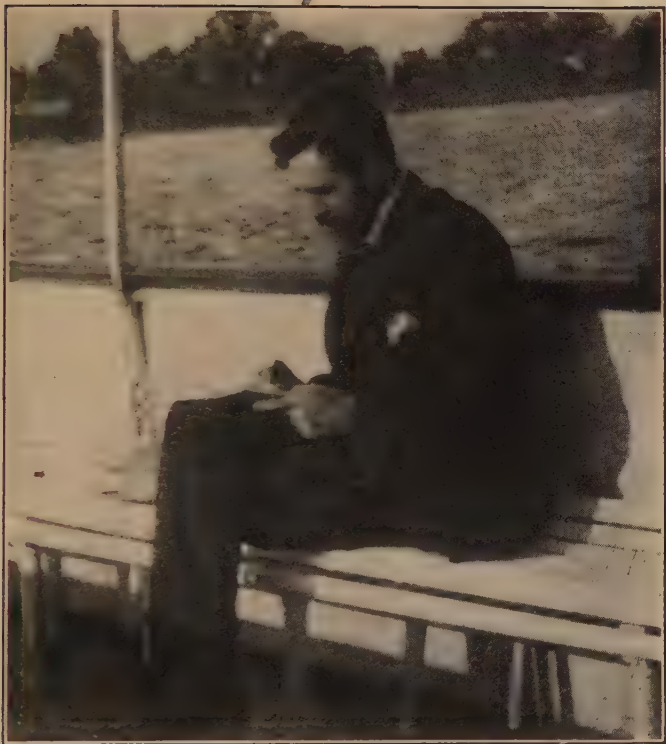
"AND these were the English only two hundred yards away—the men whose tongue I spoke, whose thoughts I thought, whose traditions, ideals, hopes I shared as though they were mine own people. I peered a long time feeling strange, lonely, homesick in the trench where I did not belong."

This incident occurred two years before our entry in the war, and the impartial reader after such an outburst will be prepared to discount Mr. Whitlock's opinions as they appear in his book *Belgium*.

Apologists for these Wilson Diplomats offer as excuse for their scandalous war writings that they were carried off their base by hysteria and the Entente Propaganda. It is a sad reflection, however, upon the intelligence and common sense of these "neutral" officials that they permitted themselves to swallow without question, bait, line and sinker, a lying propaganda whose purpose was self-evident. The material upon which these men framed their bitter attacks on the Germanic powers has been shown up by the evidence and revelations of recent years to have been based on rumors, lies, forgeries and misrepresentations of the most despicable description. Honorable Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Italians inspired by a sense of

justice and fair play have aided in the exposure of these lies and borne valiant testimony to the truth. I need only refer to the latest work of the English Statesman, Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.,* *Falsehood in War Time*. The most appalling aspect of this case is that the Wilson Diplomats who are still living, although now acquainted with the true facts, have not had the moral courage or common decency to correct or express regret for the slanders on the Central Powers which they circulated throughout our country. Nothing more shockingly reveals the inborn meanness and cowardice of human nature than this contemptible attitude on their part. They have joined the "conspiracy of silence" with the professors who were on the payroll of the notorious Creel Press Bureau and whose literary output during the war reflects a pathetic commentary on the mental qualities of the pedagogues who are products of American Universities.

* Now Lord Ponsonby.



SIR ROGER CASEMENT ON THE STARNBERGER SEE

CHAPTER XII
THE MISSION OF SIR ROGER CASEMENT
TO GERMANY

EARLY in November, 1914, Sir Roger Casement arrived in Berlin from the United States. Naturally the appearance in the German Capital of the distinguished Irish leader created a great sensation, which was emphasized when it became known that Manfred de Cardonnel Findley, the British Minister in Norway, had made an unsuccessful attempt to induce Casement's servant to betray his master into his hands or otherwise make away with him. In a document in Findley's own handwriting, a photographic copy of which is printed at page 122, the British diplomat promised on the part of his government to pay Christensen, Casement's dependent, *five thousand pounds sterling* immunity for the crime, and a free passage to the United States. In this transaction Findley not only violated the laws of neutrality and the common law of the country to which he was accredited, but had contemplated the violation of the statutes of the United States by shipping a known criminal to our shores.

My first meeting with Sir Roger Casement occurred at a dinner party in Berlin shortly after his arrival. It was a singular coincidence that Casement had been knighted by King George the Fifth for his exposure of the Belgian atrocities in the Congo while I had been decorated by the King of the Belgians in 1905 with the Officer's Cross of the Order of Leopold II for defending the Belgian government from these charges. This discrepancy of opinion in our political past did not, however, prevent Casement and me from becoming good friends. His judgment

had been founded in the Congo while mine had been largely based on the traditional policy of England to discredit and slander the administration of a country before preparing to rob its territory. At the time of Casement's exposures of the Belgian atrocities I had been convinced that John Bull was about to play the same rôle in the Congo as he had played a few years before in the Boer Republics, first to calumniate the government of that country in the public opinion of the world, and then seize its territories in the interests of civilization.

In the course of conversation Casement mentioned to me that he had not yet got over his astonishment at reading that the formidable series of atrocities (cutting off of hands, etc.) which he had proved against the Belgians had been lifted from his indictment and were now being charged by the Belgians against the Germans. He attributed this legerdemain to the English who had published *in extenso*, a few years before, his reports showing up the atrocities committed by the Belgian military against the unfortunate natives in the Congo. Casement further informed me that he was about to visit Munich and that he desired to see me as soon as possible after his arrival. "You know, Mr. Gaffney," he laughingly said, "as you are entrusted with the care of British interests, I am under your protection. I am in law, if not in spirit, still a British subject." I assured him that both in my capacity as a compatriot and as an official I would be cordially at his service at any time.

The following day we met again and Casement graphically described to me the effort of the notorious Findley to secure his person in Norway or have him otherwise removed. I confess I was never more amazed in my life than when he showed me Findley's original letter, the Norwegian money, the key of the Legation back door, the proposed cipher, all of which the British Minister had given to Christensen, the servant of Casement, during the negotiations for his betrayal. *That such a person as Findley, after his exposure, should have been continued at his post and decorated by his sovereign is one of the most disgraceful episodes in the criminal history of English diplomacy.*

British Legation
Christiania.
Norway.

On behalf of the British Government I promised that if through information given by Adler Christensen, Sir Roger Casement be captured either with or without his companions, the said Adler Christensen is to receive from the British Government the sum of £5000 to be paid as he may desire.

Adler Christensen is also to enjoy personal immunity & to be given a passage to the United States should he desire it.

M. del. Findlay
H. B. M. Minister

FACSIMILE OF LETTER OF MANFRED DE
CARDONNEL FINDLAY

Casement Explains Irish Situation

SOME time after this meeting Casement paid a visit to Munich where he was received with much distinction by the authorities and the members of the American colony.

In response to an inquiry as to the reason and object of his mission to Germany he made the following statement:

"I had long believed that British fear and jealousy of German naval and commercial progress would bring on war, and I had very frankly expressed in government circles or elsewhere my opinions as to the rightfulness or even sanity of English antagonism to Germany. Germany had never injured England, much less Ireland, and it was plain that she was being attacked not for the wrong she had done to the others, but from the hope those others held of doing injury to her. Ireland was being appealed to by every agency of fear, of resentment, of misplaced chivalry, of self-interest to send hundreds of thousands of her sons *to a war that, at the best, concerned her not at all!*

"I sought to meet this effort to betray my countrymen into the ranks of an army of aggression being massed for a dishonest attack upon a people with whom Irishmen had no just cause of quarrel by a public appeal in which I begged them to stay at home and leave England to fight her own wars of conquest."

I Go to Germany to Explain the Irish Question

"SOON afterward I embarked for Germany. Letters alone, I saw, would not help Irishmen at home or meet the numerous agencies of calumny and ill-will that were being employed to plunge them into the shambles of a war of unparalleled misery and destruction.

"My object was a peaceful, not a belligerent, one.

"I sought not to 'foment a rebellion in Ireland' as some of my ignorant critics have asserted, but so far as possible to keep Ireland at peace and Irishmen out of the war by placing before them a clear and authoritative statement of German aims that might go far to meet the flood of misrepresentation being steadily poured over Ireland by the British government. I believed that if I could reach Germany and state these objects to

the German government, I should not fail to accomplish something of what I hoped to achieve.

"I hoped that the German government might be induced to make clear its peaceful intentions toward Ireland and that the effect of such a pronouncement in Ireland itself might be powerful enough to keep Irishmen from readily volunteering for a war that had no claim upon their patriotism or their honor.

"With this aim chiefly in view, I came to Germany in November, 1914, and I succeeded in the object I had set before myself.

"The German government declared openly its good will toward Ireland and in convincing terms.

"On November 20, 1914, an official statement was issued in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* recording, in the following terms, the representation I had addressed to the Imperial government and the reply that the Imperial Chancellor directed to be made to me."

IRELAND AND THE WAR

SIR ROGER CASEMENT, who has arrived in Berlin from the United States, has been received at the Foreign Office.

Sir Roger Casement pointed out that statements were being published in Ireland, apparently with the authority of the British government behind them, to the effect that a German victory would inflict great loss upon the Irish people whose homes, churches, priests and lands would be at the mercy of an invading army actuated only by motives of pillage and conquest.

Recent utterances of Mr. Redmond on his recruiting tour in Ireland and many pronouncements of the British press in Ireland to the above effect have been widely circulated, Sir Roger pointed out, and have caused natural apprehension among Irishmen as to the German attitude toward Ireland in the event of a German victory in the present war.

Sir Roger sought a convincing statement of German intentions toward Ireland that might reassure his countrymen all over the world, and particularly in Ireland and America, in view of these disquieting statements emanating from responsible British quarters.

In reply to this inquiry the acting Secretary of State at the Foreign Office by order of the Imperial Chancellor has made the following declaration:

"The German government repudiates the evil intentions attributed to it in the statements referred to by Sir Roger Casement and takes this opportunity to give a categorical assurance that the

German government desires only the welfare of the Irish people, their country and their institutions.

"The Imperial government formally declares that under no circumstances would Germany invade Ireland with a view to its conquest or the overthrow of any native institutions in that country.

"Should the fortune of this great war, that was not of Germany's seeking, ever bring in its course German troops to the shores of Ireland, they would land there, not as an army of invaders to pillage and destroy, but as the forces of a government that is inspired by good will toward a country and a people for whom Germany desires only national prosperity and national freedom."

"The wording of the Imperial declaration left little to be desired. An English declaration of war and of hate against Germany had been met, at my instance, by a German declaration of peace and amity toward Ireland. I had accomplished the chief purpose set before myself when I set sail from America on what I well knew must be for me a very dangerous journey, involving an irreparable step and a payment on my part of very much that I held dear.

"The rest of my stay in Germany was and is but the necessary outcome of that initial act.

"I sought so far as one man could achieve it to keep my own people free from participation in a great wrong. Hatred to England as such or of Englishmen as individuals I had and have none. England as an Empire I regard as a calamity to many peoples and chiefly to Ireland which has had to bear so large and terrible a part of the cost of the establishment. My hope in coming to Germany was that I might be the means, to some extent, of keeping Ireland's sons in peace at home, and whoever helped in any measure to do that would do a better thing, I knew, than help to fill a million graves.

"The failure to apply the Conscription law to Ireland and the confession that Ireland is recognized by law to be exempt from military service to Great Britain or to the British Empire is the best justification I could ask for my visit to Germany."

*I Am Bitterly Arraigned by the British Press for Entertaining
Casement at Dinner*

DURING Casement's stay in Munich he was upon one occasion a guest at a luncheon given by Mrs. Gaffney and myself to for-

mer Mayor George B. McClellan and Mrs. McClellan of New York. Mr. McClellan had been a member of Congress for ten years and also for six years mayor of New York. He was the son of the famous Union General, George B. McClellan, who had been the candidate of the Democratic Party for President. There were several members of the Diplomatic Corps among the guests, also His Excellency Baron von Schoen, who was Imperial Ambassador in Paris at the outbreak of the war. The fact that I had entertained Casement gave rise to a storm of criticism against me in the English press, which finally found an echo in America and no doubt was utilized to influence Wilson and his English advisers against me. I did not recognize, however, any right of the English government or press to dictate to me whom I should entertain or not entertain at my table. I had honorably fulfilled my duties toward the subjects of that power who were entrusted to my protection, as was amply testified to by them. The fact that Findley, the English Minister at Christiania acting on the part of his government, had failed in an attempt to remove Casement in a criminal manner was in my judgment no reason why I should exclude from the circle of my friends the man who had been previously so highly honored by the British sovereign and ministry.

When Casement learned that Wilson had asked for my resignation he was very much troubled. He suspected that my kindness and civilities to him had contributed to the summary action of the American president. Among the first letters of protest and sympathy which reached me was the following remarkable communication from the great Irish patriot and martyr. I treasure this letter as one of my most valued possessions:

Berlin,
Hospiz am Brandenburger Tor,
1 November, 1915.

DEAR MR. GAFFNEY:

I see by American newspapers that you are charged, among other things, with having given a "dinner" in my honor at which "anti-British speeches were made," and this alleged act is cited as one of the justifications for your recall.

Like so much else said about me in the English press, in England and New England, this is a deliberate lie—a sheer invention

might be more polite; but inventions are often very honorable forms of mental activity, whereas this is not.

You gave no dinner in my honor, and on no one of the few occasions when I had the pleasure to be your guest at social gatherings in Munich were anti-British speeches, or any other speeches made.

I presume as an American Consul you were within your rights in showing me courtesy and civility when I called on you, and I presume I had a legal right even to call. But I make no claim of that kind.

I called on you as a friend; you received me as a friend and a gentleman, and I am deeply sensible of the unfailing courtesy and kindness you and Mrs. Gaffney showed me throughout my stay at Munich.

In no act of yours in my regard did you show yourself unmindful of your duty as an official or forgetful of the standing of your country.

That you, an Irishman by blood, should show friendship to another Irishman was but to be expected of the traditions of hospitality that still endure in Ireland. An Irishman does not turn his back upon a man because he is assailed with calumny and persecuted by the strong, and in showing me courtesy and kindness you revealed yourself as an Irish gentleman. I know no higher honor than to be worthy of that designation.

If it is an "offence" in the eyes of American officialdom or journalism for an American Consular Officer to have become acquainted with me in Germany, then I fear your Ambassador in Berlin and others at the Embassy, as well as Mr. Lay, your colleague here, cannot escape censure.

On the 21st November last year Mr. Gerard called at the German Foreign Office and asked for my address in Berlin, as His Excellency said he should "much like to make Sir Roger's acquaintance." The next day the Secretary of the American Embassy repeated the request in another quarter of the same Department. On learning that the Ambassador and his Secretary were so anxious to meet me I declined to be the bearer of a letter of introduction to the Ambassador, offered to me in a high quarter in U. S. A.

I came to Germany for one thing only, to help the cause of Ireland, and I did not need the help or intervention of the American Embassy to effect my object.

Later, in January last, I met and dined with Mr. Lay, in company with German officers and gentlemen, at the Hotel Esplanade; and I cannot recall that anything more "anti-British" was ever uttered at your hospitable table than I heard on the occasions when I sat down at the same board with your colleague in Berlin.

The truth is you failed, not in showing me hospitality, but in not taking advantage of my presence as your guest, to seek to have my papers rifled and gone through by the hotel servants in my

absence from my apartments. Had you done this, or bribed my servant and offered him the key of the back door of the American Consulate-General in Munich (if you have a back door) by which to convey to you in stealth the papers of mine he could steal or copy in my absence then, I am convinced, you would have shown yourself a worthy representative of British interests in Bavaria—and would still be at your post.

But because you acted as an Irishman and not as a British representative, you are denounced and pilloried.

While I am very sorry at the loss inflicted on you and much regret, for your sake, that your courtesy to me should in any way have hurt you officially, I cannot but be proud of you as a man. You have shown yourself above reproach, above fear, an honorable gentleman, holding out a hand of friendship and esteem to one whose only crime is that he loved his country and sought, at all cost to himself, to try and serve it.

I know that for long those who assail me in England, because they could not buy me or frighten me into betraying the cause of Ireland, have sought to associate you with me.

A man I have met more than once in Germany, an American citizen, told me that when he was in London recently, a British Member of Parliament assured him that I had sent Mr. Gaffney over to England last December on a "special mission"! This English representative denounced you (and me) in unmeasured terms, and what was said to one American was certainly not withheld from others.

The statement is so grotesque, so ludicrous, that I quote it, not to refute it, but to expose the childish character of the British attacks upon you, because you were known to be of Irish origin and to share the national sentiment of the vast majority of Irishmen.

At the date of your mission to England last December, despatched I understand by your Ambassador, I not only had never met you, but I did not even know your name, or of your existence.

It was not until your return from England that I met you at dinner at the house of a friend where I have frequently met other Americans since my arrival in Berlin.

The British Government have had a severe attack of "nerves" over my visit to Germany and the form their malady has taken has been a constitutional one—it has been indicated by a succession of lies, scattered in all directions, that show how impure the blood must be, and how badly in need they are of a little cupping. Fortunately skilled surgeons are at hand and I am convinced the operation now being performed at many points will relieve the patient and purify the international atmosphere for a long time to come.

When the infection has been got under, and the world returns to a cleaner frame of mind, I have not the slightest doubt, my dear Mr. Gaffney, that your countrymen will recognize and repair the

Nr. 2192.



Wir Wilhelm,
von Gottes Gnaden
Deutscher Kaiser, König von Preußen
u. w.

Erlassen hlermit, unter dem Versprechen einer vollkommenen Equipierung, alle Militär- und Zivilbehörden der anderen Staaten, sammtlichen uns untergebenen Militär- und Zivilbehörden aber befehlen Wir ausdrücklich, auf Vorzeigung dieses *an Tolimina*

Sir Roger Casement, zu in Vordiffland reist.

frei und ungehindert reisen, auch nöthigenfalls ihnen Schutz und Beistand angedeihen zu lassen.

Begeben Berlin, den 2. September, *untergezeichnet* *1914*

Auf Seiner Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Majestät Allerhöchsten Spezialbefehl.

Der Reichskanzler.
Des Vortrags



Reisepaß
gültig auf *Lois Mémoris*.

John H. Fargis

SIR ROGER CASEMENT'S TRAVEL PERMIT

great injustice done you because you have been a fearless and unswerving upholder of the noblest ideals of your great republic.

For your friendship to me, a lonely man, far from friends and with so many doubts, anxieties and perplexities to make my way dark, I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and I am sure that every Irishman, worthy of the name, will thank you too.

Yours sincerely,

ROGER CASEMENT.

The Honorable
T. St. John Gaffney,
Etc., etc., etc.,
Munich.

CHAPTER XIII

I MAKE A PILGRIMAGE TO THE UNITED STATES IN NOVEMBER, 1915

A FEW weeks after my resignation I determined to leave for the United States for the purpose of personally inquiring into the reasons which had induced President Wilson to request my retirement and to challenge investigation. I could not with justice to my honor rest under the imputation that I had in any way compromised my official position or the interests of my government.

Some days before my departure I received the following letter (translated here) from the Bavarian Ministry of Foreign Relations:

Royal Bavarian
State Ministry
of the Royal Court
and Foreign Relations

Munich, November 6, 1915.

SIR:

By your esteemed letter of the third instant you had the kindness to notify the State Ministry of the Royal Court and Foreign Relations that you intend to leave Munich on the eighth instant and proceed to the United States of North America.

From the wording of your letter as well as from various newspaper publications which have recently come to my knowledge I understand with great regret that you will not return to your office here where you have always entertained the very best relations with the authorities. It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to express to you on behalf of the temporarily absent State Minister, Dr. Count v. Hertling, the special acknowledgment of, and sincere thanks for, your generous activity for the care for the wounded and sick and the relief of the destitute.

At the same time I have the honor of informing you that *his majesty the king* has gracefully conferred upon your good self in consideration of your prominent merits in the above-named direction the Cross of Merit for Voluntary Aid to the Wounded and Sick (*Verdienstkreuz fuer freiwillige Krankenpflege, Friedensauszeichnung*). I have great pleasure in handing you herewith said decoration together with the deed and beg you to kindly return to me the enclosed declaration duly signed.

I hope that you also will look back with satisfaction to the time of your official activity here and hold our beautiful city and Bavaria always in kind remembrance.

With the assurance of my most perfect esteem, I beg to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) STATE CHANCELLOR V. LOSSL.

To the Honorable Consul-General,

T. St. John Gaffney, Munich.

I Leave for Copenhagen

EN ROUTE to Copenhagen I stopped off in Berlin and had a conference with Sir Roger Casement and some of his friends. We had formulated a plan to obtain passage to America for him on a neutral ship, but we decided the risk was too great for him to undertake the journey. Sir Roger gave me a sum of money in American gold coins which he asked me to deliver to his sister, Mrs. Agnes Newman, who was then in New York. He also entrusted me with important messages for his confederates in the United States.

After the execution of Sir Roger in London (which will be the subject of later reference) a friend in Berlin sent me a letter written to him by Casement the day following my departure from Rotterdam. My correspondent thought that in view of the personal allusion I would like to possess the original. The letter is dated Berlin, November 17, 1915, and is still carefully guarded amongst my most valuable papers. Casement writes, "I wept at G's departure—a true, staunch friend and a faithful Irishman. I shall not forget his loyalty to me."

The Attitude of Dr. Egan, American Minister in Copenhagen

AFTER my arrival in Copenhagen I called on the American Minister, Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, who was an old friend. He

invited me to lunch at the Legation and we had a long talk on the general war situation and the critical outlook in Ireland. Egan was a Catholic of Irish descent, which was the basis of his political capital, and to which fact was attributed his appointment by Roosevelt as Minister to the Danish Court. But his Irish sentiment and the idealism of the Celt had long since disappeared and the Doctor had become a commercialized imperialist solidly entrenched on the side of the Anglo-Saxon. He considered that the money power of the world and the stronger battalions were with England and as a cautious opportunist he favored what he believed to be the winning side.

After delivering a propaganda argument of an hour's duration in behalf of the Allies, he concluded by saying: "You know, my dear Gaffney, that I am *absolutely neutral* and am only concerned with the purchase of the Danish West Indies and keeping our country out of the war." I may here remark that the majority of the American officials with whom I came in contact, after my resignation, were offensive partisans of the Allies for the simple reason that they believed President Wilson leaned that way. They would have changed their opinions as readily as they changed their coats if President Wilson had veered around to the German side. American prestige, American honor or American rights played a minor rôle with them. Some admitted to me that they believed the cause of Germany was just and that she was engaged in a war of pure defense, but self-interest, they declared, must govern their attitude. And so it was with Egan and others of his type. An American official was regarded as neutral by President Wilson as long as he manifested sympathy with the Allies and criticized the Germans, but if he said a word for the Central Powers, he was reprimanded and warned not to repeat the offense. This principle became quickly known in the service and most of the government officers regulated their conduct accordingly.

I Sail for America

I SAILED from Copenhagen on the steamship *Oscar II* on November 16, 1915. This small steamer recalled to me the ships I sailed on some thirty years before. I had been accustomed, for many years, to cross the ocean on the superb steamers of the

North German Lloyd and Hamburg American Lines and I realized once again that it was wartime. I shall always look back with pleasure to the numerous voyages which I made on the palatial German steamers and shall never forget the masterly administration which directed them, the courtesy of the officers, and their care for the welfare and happiness of the passengers. However, I quickly determined to enjoy the crossing. My chief consideration was to become acquainted with some passenger who would help me to conceal the papers which I expected might be taken from me by the English, and in this quest I was fortunate.

We Escape Inspection by British Cruisers

FOR the first few days the sole topic of conversation was whether we would escape the English cruisers and thus avoid the annoyance and delay of being searched or ordered to Kirkwall. The third night out in a great storm we were signaled to stop by an auxiliary British cruiser. The sea was running so high that the British captain notified us that it was impossible to launch a boat. He ordered us to proceed slowly until he wirelessly for instructions from London. Our captain, to his everlasting credit, went ahead at full speed, escaped the cruiser and we were soon out of the danger zone. This was a great relief to the passengers. I, particularly, was most anxious to avoid an examination and search at that time by his majesty's officials. I knew that President Wilson was absolutely pro-English and that if I afterward complained, it would be hopeless to expect any redress from him.

While we were in English waters most of the passengers conducted themselves as neutral or pro-Ally, but after we got out on the high seas there was an immediate change of sentiment in favor of the Central Powers. The Reuter and Havas dispatches were received with derision as they continued to radio English and French "victories." Such success of the German arms as these agencies were forced to notice were received with jubilation in the smoking-room to the cheerful accompaniment of popping champagne corks.

There was an American correspondent on board and at

his earnest request I gave him the following interview which was the foundation of all those which appeared with me after my arrival in New York. The *Gaelic American* was the only paper that published the full text, so I give, in part, the report that appeared in that paper:

CONSUL-GENERAL GAFFNEY REFUTES ALL THE CHARGES ON
WHICH WILSON DISMISSED HIM WITHOUT A HEARING

Arrived in New York, He Makes Frank and Straightforward Statement, Dealing Categorically With All the Allegations of the English Newspapers Which Were Republished in the American Press and Shows Them to Be Malicious Inventions Without a Shadow of Foundation in Fact—No Formal Charges Made—He Simply Received a Notification by Cable That the President Would Accept His Resignation—New Diplomatic Rule That an American Consul Is to Be Dismissed Because He Is "Persona Non Grata" to a Government Which Is at War With the Country to Which He Is Accredited—His Real Crime Is Being an Irishman—Going to Washington to Insist on Seeing the Charges and to Demand Vindication.

THOMAS ST. JOHN GAFFNEY, American Consul-General in Munich, who was removed by President Wilson (through the method of demanding his resignation) at the demand of the British government, arrived in New York last Sunday on the Scandinavian American Liner *Oscar II*, which sailed from Copenhagen. Monday's New York papers, in reporting his arrival, treated Mr. Gaffney more fairly than his friends had expected, and gave (for them) a fairly good summary of his statement of his case. But they omitted some of the chief points which would show that not a single one of the charges against him which they had all published had even a shadow of a foundation in fact, and that he was removed solely because he was *persona non grata* to England.

This is a new method of procedure in diplomacy. An ambassador, a minister, or a consul is supposed to be *persona grata* to the government and the people to whom he is accredited. Mr. Gaffney was *persona grata* to the German government and to the people of Munich, where his consular office was situated. But he was *persona non grata* to England, the country with which Germany is at war, and because of that fact President Wilson removes him from office. This is the most astounding feature of Mr. Gaffney's dismissal, because it distinctly concedes to England the right of veto on the appointment of American consuls to other countries and acknowledges her right to demand the removal of consuls to other countries to whom she objects.

The other feature of Mr. Gaffney's case which will shock all true Americans is that Mr. Gaffney was dismissed without a hearing

and without informing him of the charges against him. The only knowledge he has of these charges is obtained from statements published in English newspapers and repeated in the New York dailies, and all of these he shows by incontrovertible testimony to be absolutely without foundation. Mr. Gaffney had for a fellow-passenger, Mr. Daniel D. Bidwell, an American war correspondent, who took down from his own lips a statement of his case, which was handed to the newspaper reporters when he landed and from which they made up their reports. The statement has his full sanction and the copy of it which will be found below was handed to the editor of the *Gaelic American* by Mr. Gaffney himself.

MR. GAFFNEY'S STATEMENT

BY DANIEL D. BIDWELL

"Is Carranza still President of Mexico?" was the first question which St. John Gaffney, former Consul-General at Munich, asked when seen by a friend on the *Oscar II* of the Scandinavian-American line off quarantine yesterday.

"You know, I haven't read a line about Mexico since I sailed from Copenhagen twelve days ago."

After learning that the be-whiskered protégé of President Wilson was still holding down the executive chair in the citadel of the Montezumas, Mr. Gaffney exclaimed with a shudder:

"*Quel horreur!*"

The decapitated diplomat was placid and rotund, hale and hearty, jovial and full of the joy of life. But he was also full of the joy of battle. He is come across half of Germany and all of the Atlantic on one clear call, for one impelling purpose. And for the present that purpose is, outside of his family, all that life holds for him. Hearty he is, jovial he is, but his Irish is up.

He is here—he makes it clear, at once—to defend his good name. Having talked many times with him on the trip and having examined a war chest of newspapers, testimonials, letters and other papers dealing with his case, I can present, in part, his story.

August 12th the *Morning Post* of London printed under the head "United States Consul's 'Neutrality'—American Indignation," an article in which it assailed Mr. Gaffney's official conduct as a "blot" and him as "using his official position as a house top for the proclamation of his personal prepossessions" and as "vilifying a power with whom his government is in most friendly relation." The *Post* averred that the first complaints were "made by American citizens themselves," one of whom complained to its Berne correspondent.

HIS LETTER TO THE "WORLD"

From this article it is necessary to travel both back and forward. This article led on by a series of steps to Mr. Gaffney's resignation,

so he points out. It was, in turn, a result, indirectly, of a letter from him to the *World*, printed July 2.

Traveling *back* to that letter Mr. Gaffney declared that, moved by the anxiety of New Yorkers who had read that friends in Munich were exposed to insult and outrage and that riots occurred in German cities, he wrote saying that Americans were safe, were, in fact, entirely free from molestation.

THE "MORNING POST'S" FALSEHOOD

And now it is necessary to travel *forward* from that article in the *Post* of August 12. Fleet Street correspondents of New York dailies cabled stories, adding a tale about an alleged exclamation: "I'll show up these English," which it was asserted Mr. Gaffney made in the Hotel Savoy during a visit to London, taken to inquire into the treatment of German prisoners of war, at the request of Ambassador Gerard. Mr. Gaffney declares that had he been neglectful of British interests in Munich, as is now asserted, Mr. Gerard would not have intrusted to him this delicate mission.

After the *Post* tale two New York papers, the *Herald* and the *Evening Post*, made what Mr. Gaffney calls "extreme drives" against him. Others printed matter which was, he says, both erroneous and highly injurious. Stories fully a twelve-month old were taken out of their lavender and cedar and moth balls, and, while he was three thousand five hundred miles away and only tardily informed and, at that only in part, a campaign was made against him. September 30 he received a cablegram: "The President will accept your resignation." Immediately he sent his resignation via Ambassador Gerard.

As soon as he could, he left Munich, dined with Minister Egan in Copenhagen, and sailed on the *Oscar II* for New York. He is to start as soon as possible for Washington in order to learn from the State Department what charges were made against him and by whom.

"I am absolutely ignorant, officially, what those charges are," he protested, "absolutely. I have been tried in my absence, condemned unheard. My character and official integrity are attacked. I am exposed to scorn and loss in a country which I chose in all the world when I left my own.

"I admit that the President had a right to remove me in the way he chose. But I submit that a more honorable, judicial and temperate way would have been to call me to Washington, inform me specifically of the charges—whether true or false—hear my defense and then act upon the formal evidence.

"There is not a criminal, even, in all this wide land without the right to demand that his accusers confront him."

Mr. Gaffney declares with the extreme of emphasis that he is left to himself to find the charges. He has been collecting newspapers and documents to segregate charges from old tales and to classify them into something concrete. To isolate them and make them concrete

and to get them into anything like systematic or technical form is almost as hard as to dissolve a pearl in angels' tears. Even then one charge seems to be without real specification.

WHAT THE CHARGES SEEM TO BE

The following is not especially clarified, but it is as near as Mr. Gaffney gets to the charges, as far as he can lift them out from the residuum. He holds that they seem to have been given out in some shape at the State Department:

1. Rudeness toward Americans in Munich.
2. Neglect of interests of English in Munich.
3. Smuggling secret documents into the Consulate.
4. Commending a Berlin paper which reflected on President Wilson.
5. Giving a dinner to Sir Roger Casement and expressing anti-English opinions.
6. Approving a newspaper attack on Former Secretary Bryan.

HIS CATEGORICAL DENIAL

It may not be that these are the charges on file at Washington. In that case Mr. Gaffney merely wonders what on earth the charges are. The State Department has not at any time informed him.

CHARGE NO. 1—RUDENESS TOWARD AMERICANS

Now as to No. 1—In the opening days of the August of '14 the consulate was in necessary turmoil and disorder. It was precipitated without real notice into a turbulent volume of hasty work and insistent demand which was ten-fold the ordinary amount of business. Mr. Gaffney immediately organized committees and set at work untrained volunteers in the building. He denies that he was uncivil to Americans, hundreds of whom almost camped in the place for a week, in fact for a fortnight. Some of the volunteers may have been rude. Several were *without* experience and *with* nerves and had never been in business of any kind. If any volunteer was disrespectful, Mr. Gaffney himself has never been informed. The nearest approach to information came in letters two months ago in the *New York Evening Post*. These are signed Dorothy Bristol, of Toronto; Pennington Whitehead and Allan McLane Hamilton.

Who Dorothy Bristol is Mr. Gaffney can only guess, for there is no record of her in the consulate. The charges which she and Mr. Whitehead make are vague. In case the charges have foundation and a volunteer was cross or unwise, Mr. Gaffney has testimonial upon testimonial to the effort, tact and success which distinguished his general conduct of the immeasurably overworked consulate in the days of the mobilization.

Americans Defend Him—Here is a partial list, only, of Ameri-

cans who have directly lauded his work in the troubled mobilization stage, after their return to the United States:

- Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, widow of the late president.
- Mrs. Philip H. Sheridan, widow of the late general.
- Garrett McEnerny, a leading lawyer in San Francisco.
- Mrs. Medill Patterson, Chicago.
- P. A. Murray, Newton, Massachusetts.
- F. H. Watriss, New York City.
- H. A. Garfield, Williamstown, Massachusetts, President of Williams College and son of the late president.
- C. George Kongress, Chicago.
- F. A. Herendeen, Geneva, New York.
- The Rev. W. T. Crocker, New York City.
- Arthur M. Waitt, New York.
- Professor Morris Jastrow, Philadelphia.

Mr. Gaffney points out that the interviews which these gave were without his knowledge and were, of course, unsolicited. Mrs. Patterson put her testimonial on the first page of her paper, the *Chicago Tribune*, and with it a cut of him. Mr. Kongress is the noted correspondent.

English Protégés Praise Him—But, convincing as these are, Mr. Gaffney has in addition a formal address sent to him by both American and British residents in Munich, signed by seven members of a committee and by practically all of the members of the colony. This praises his work in the office and regrets the call for his resignation. It includes the following:

"You have at all times discharged your duties in our regard with courtesy, energy and good will. You have been an efficient representative of our country and its interests in this great city throughout this most trying period."

The committee signing are:

William Bartholomay, Rochester, New York.

Charles Emerson Curry, Boston.

Edythe Walker, the prima donna.

G. J. Melms, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Maude Fay, San Francisco, California.

Leslie D. Bissell, LL.D., New York City.

Edward Thaw, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Miss Fay is the popular prima donna of the Royal Opera in Munich. Dr. Bissell is the Munich correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, and Principal of the American School in Munich.

Among other signers are:

Mrs. Bayard Taylor.

The Rev. W. E. Nies.

Francis A. Lane, St. Louis.

Mrs. Charles Cahier, Indianapolis.

William E. Curry, Boston.

Nona M. Olmsted, Detroit.

Mrs. Mary Stevens Taylor, Worcester.

Dr. A. E. Hughes, Providence, Rhode Island.

M. D. Beacham, Baltimore, Maryland.

S. Millais Stone, Chicago.

C. von Beaulieu, Philadelphia.

Mrs. Richard Wylie, Napa City, California.

J. E. Jenner, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

James Loeb, New York City.

Baroness von Meyer Storzhausen, *née* Devonshire, of New York City.

Mrs. Bayard Taylor is the widow of the noted author and diplomat. Mr. Nies is an archdeacon and pastor of the American Church in Munich. Mr. Curry is the landscape artist. Mrs. Cahier is the popular singer. Mr. Stone is the portrait painter and Mr. Loeb was formerly a banker of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. To the list may be added Baroness von Pfugl, born Wright, in Cleveland, whose mother is married to Prince Arsene, brother of the King of Servia, and also Countess Rosamond Courten, born Blanchard, in Boston.

CHARGE NO. 2—NEGLECT OF ENGLISH

Now as to No. 2, neglect of interests of the English in Munich—Germany first made war on August 1, with Russia. It became at war with Britain at 11 P.M., August 4. Mr. Gaffney was intrusted with British interests in Munich a few days later. Before he was notified of that duty he had no right to act. When notified he organized a British Relief Committee and placed at its head Miss Sylvia M. Welsh, an English lady, and he gave to it the use of a suite of rooms two floors above the consulate. Miss Welsh was selected on account of her philanthropic character and her knowledge of her country people.

That some member of this committee may have been neglectful is possible, but in that case no complaint was made to the consul. In the turbulent days of mid-August it would have been strange had every Briton asking help been satisfied. This committee was solely composed of British subjects.

As for later days Mr. Gaffney quotes the following from the testimonial:

"We assure you, sir, that the American consulate in Munich has never been better represented than by you. It is, moreover, the opinion of the few British residents here and intrusted to your care that you have done everything in your power to represent their interests and lighten their lot."

For Charge 2 there seems to be no real specification. But there is a kind of implied charge that Mr. Gaffney was anti-English. As to this he frankly says that he has no high admiration for English policies

and considers England responsible for the war, but that in his public and official life he was neutral, always fair to the English in his charge, and if in any degree pro-German, only with the diplomatic object of retaining the good will of the people of Munich.

CHARGE NO. 3—SMUGGLING SECRET DOCUMENT

Now as to No. 3, smuggling into the consulate a secret document—In a five-column attack on Mr. Gaffney in the *New York Herald*, it was printed that Dennis A. Spellissy, Treasurer of the Irish Volunteers' Committee, attempted to send him by an attaché of the Austrian Consulate-General in New York City, a secret letter. As to this Mr. Gaffney declares that he knows nothing.

Mr. Gaffney further declares that he has never belonged to any Irish revolutionary society in America or elsewhere; that he has always been a constitutional Home Ruler; that he has not seen or heard from Mr. Spellissy in twenty years, and that he has never received or transmitted a letter through a consul or diplomatic agent of a beligerent.

"I am amused," Mr. Gaffney exclaimed, "that Mr. Bennett, who has edited the *Herald* for forty years from Paris, should try to influence American public opinion. Under present regulations of the State Department, he is not entitled to an American passport."

Mr. Gaffney argues that he is not responsible for Mr. Spellissy's act, in case Mr. Spellissy did seek to send a letter by the Austrian Consul-General.

CHARGE NO. 4—COMMENDING A BERLIN PAPER

Now as to No. 4, commending a Berlin paper reflecting on the President—It was printed in several places that Mr. Gaffney commended the *Continental Times* of Berlin, a newspaper printed in English, for publishing articles which reflected on President Wilson and his administration. The former consul vehemently denies that he extended such commendation. He cites the following from that paper's issue of October 1:

"The statement that the American Consul-General in Munich, Mr. St. John Gaffney, has expressed approval of articles in the *Continental Times* criticising the policy of the administration . . . is wholly without foundation. . . .

"The American Consul-General in Munich has never contributed any article or letter to this paper.—[*The Editors.*]"

Mr. Gaffney admits that he commended the *Continental Times'* War Book. He calls attention to the fact that articles by Professor Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, Professor W. M. Sloane, Theodore Roosevelt, and Professors Benjamin Ide Wheeler, J. W. Burgess and George Stuart Fullerton appear in it. Careful study of



MR. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY TAKING LEAVE OF THE QUEEN OF BAVARIA
AFTER HER VISIT TO THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL

the book finds no attack on the President or the American government in the publication. Mr. Gaffney challenges a verdict on this charge.

CHARGE NO. 5—DINNER TO CASEMENT

Now as to No. 5, dining Casement—In a number of papers it was charged that the consul-general gave a dinner to Sir Roger Casement, an Irish opponent of the English theory of rule in Ireland, who is at present residing in Berlin. As to this the accused says that he gave a private luncheon to Professor George B. McClellan, of Princeton University, former Mayor of New York City. He asserts that no speeches were made and that politics were not discussed. The matter of Casement's standing with Britain or Germany was not argued. He reasons that Casement is by law a British subject and was entitled to Gaffney's protection. Consul-General Lay had also dined Casement in Berlin.

CHARGE NO. 6—ATTACK ON BRYAN

Now as to No. 6, approving newspaper attack on Bryan—It was vaguely alleged in some papers that Mr. Gaffney had approved a newspaper attack on former Secretary of State Bryan. As to this, accused says that he knows nothing either of the attack or the alleged endorsement.

A HEARING DEMANDED

Having gone into these six charges, Mr. Gaffney took up the matter of his resignation. He stated that in no sense did he question the technical right of the department to ask for this, but he did regret keenly that statements had been given out *from that quarter derogatory to his official conduct and for the sole purpose of influencing public opinion against him—and when he had no opportunity to defend himself*. Mr. Gaffney exhibited a copy of a cablegram to the State Department, sent early in October, reading as follows:

"Americans in Munich request that Consul-General Gaffney be given hearing in matter of requested resignation.

(Signed) "William E. Nies, Rector of American Church and Archdeacon: J. Milnor Coit, Arthur M. Williamson, Henry S. Leake, vestrymen, and many others of the colony."

It may be added here that Mr. Gaffney does not belong to the church and is a Roman Catholic. At the same time the following cablegram was forwarded:

"English residents regret the unwarranted attack upon Consul-General Gaffney and deny he showed any bias in treatment of English. Consul enjoys full confidence of English residents.

"For British Relief Committee,

"SYLVIA WELSH, Sec."

BRITISH SUBJECTS DEFEND HIM

Mr. Gaffney is particularly distressed by the allegation that he was indifferent to the protection of the British committed to his charge. He informed me that all of his relatives live in Ireland and England, that his brother is a leading official of the Crown in Ireland, and the members of his family are at the front with the British armies. For this reason many requests for British missing went to the consulate through his Irish and English connections.

Mr. Gaffney and his staff were assiduous in sending all information possible in regard to wounded or captured British officers. To substantiate this claim Mr. Gaffney showed me a number of documents which left no doubt as to the gratitude and appreciation of the English with whom he had official relations.

Among the British who signed the testimonial written when President Wilson asked for the resignation were the following:

Sylvia M. Welsh, London.

Henrietta Van Dyck, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Emily F. and Alice E. Darby.

Sarah E. Orr, Belfast.

Isabella C. Hampson, Manchester.

Carlos E. Miles, warden of the English church. Mr. Miles is the wealthiest and most important member of the British colony in Munich.

I saw endorsements written by the British Relief Committee in Munich as to Consul Gaffney's conduct of his office in the parlous days of the mobilization. These were signed by Miss Welsh, Professor Maxse, and Wilfred H. Wells, B.A., Oxford, lecturer in the university.

Further, I saw a note from the Honorable Mary I. Portman, daughter of Viscount Portman. The young lady was building a \$100,000 villa when war broke. The German contractor came down with a bang for \$40,000. Under the bally Trading With the Enemy Act, the Viscount was unable to send a check to his daughter, and the Honorable Mary was held in jail until Mr. Gaffney went bail for 160,000 marks *personally*.

Add to this a note from P. A. Murray, of Newton, Massachusetts, who wrote:

"In our *pension* were two English ladies who had nothing but praise for your work as representative of the British consulate."

KING GEORGE'S LACKEY'S LIE

Mr. Gaffney showed a clipping from the New York *Tribune* which contained the following:

"It is alleged that Mr. Gaffney's indiscretions include questionable transactions with Teutonic consular officials in this country and that he has been conducting a correspondence with them which rivals the Dumba-Archibald case in sensationalism."

His comment was:

"This is the organ of the brother-in-law of the Equerry to His Majesty, King George of England."

But the most startling statement which Mr. Gaffney made in the course of the two days in which he discussed his case was this:

"I have a mass of information dealing not only with my own case but relating to the pro-British and un-neutral activities of several of our diplomatic officials on the continent."

About this he made no further statement.

BRITISH ATTACKED HIM FOR TEN YEARS

MR. GAFFNEY feels that he has been a target for papers in London for a long period. He states that on the day of his appointment as Consul General at Dresden the London *Times* made an attack on him. As he expresses it, this "has been renewed periodically in other organs of the British Foreign Office." These attacked, so he says, because he was an Irish Nationalist and because "born under the British flag he had not remained loyal to it."

Mr. Gaffney has the opinion that the Department of State *has been imposed upon* "by the malice and vindictiveness of personal enemies, whose intrigue he is confident of exposing." He points out that the Irish-American press, particularly its leading organs, the *Irish World* and the *Gaelic American*, strongly condemn his treatment by President Wilson.

Mr. Gaffney received the cross of Knight of the Legion of Honor of France from President Loubet on the recommendation of M. Delcasse in 1902, and was nominated Officer of the Order of Leopold II by the late King Leopold of Belgium in 1905. Previous to his departure from Munich the King of Bavaria decorated him with the highest Order of the Red Cross of that kingdom for services in founding the American Hospital there and his care for the Bavarian sick and wounded.

The Prime Minister, Count von Hertling, wrote him a highly complimentary letter and the Oberburgemeister, Dr. Ritter von Borsch, made an official call to express to him the thanks of the city authorities.

The Bavarian and the Prussian official press for the first time took notice of a departing consul in articles expressing admiration for his work and profound regret at his separation from his post.

CHAPTER XIV
MY VISIT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SHORTLY after my arrival in New York I went to Philadelphia and had a conference with my lawyer, Mr. Michael Francis Doyle. We decided at once to visit Washington and call on the Director of the Consular Division, Mr. Carr, who had been my chief. The result of our interview was quite unsatisfactory as I was politely refused an official inquiry or a copy of the charges and evidence upon which the President's action was based. Mr. Carr stated that my case had been determined by President Wilson and that Lansing had merely carried out his orders. I knew from what I later learned in Washington that it was hopeless to approach the President who was inspired with an absolute hatred of any official who differed from his policy in Mexico or Europe. Mr. Carr, while expressing his sympathy with me, said that he was without any power and that it would be fruitless for him to interfere for the purpose of attempting a revision of the President's action.

How Public Opinion Had Been Moulded

I REMAINED in America only seven weeks, as the political atmosphere was most uncongenial. Popular opinion had become demoralized under the influence of a press corrupted by the munitions traffic and the financial interests which had already begun to realize the gigantic profits to be made out of the war.

The old American sense of justice and fair play had almost disappeared and a spirit of hypocrisy and vindictiveness had taken its place. Under the vicious influence of the New York

press which was more English than the English, public opinion had disappeared or become so debauched as to be a mere echo of the notorious Northcliffe newspapers. I am glad to say, however, that some of the most noted supporters of strict neutrality and justice to Germany were to be found amongst Americans whose families had been in the country for generations. Naturally ninety per cent of those of Irish and German origin favored neutrality and fair play for the Central Powers. The parvenu element of both races, those who had amassed large fortunes in munition factories, etc., and were seeking social footing, were on the side of the Allies. The more obscure their antecedents, the louder they proclaimed their adherence to the "Anglo-Saxon" ideals of "liberty and democracy." To this mean class must be added a number of wealthy German-Austrian Jews who competed with the above type of "Anglo-Saxons" in the work of vilifying and traducing their Fatherland. There were notable exceptions also among them and many Jews of Germanic origin assured me of their loyalty to the cause of neutrality and their utter contempt for the unspeakable conduct of some of their own brethren. One fact was glaringly apparent to me—the spirit of Americanism as understood by the founders of the Republic was temporarily dead and a spurious Anglo-Saxonism had taken its place.

About this time also began to appear the discords, divisions, and hatreds among the American people which became intensified after the entrance of our country into the war. The spirit of know-nothingism permeated the land, and class and racial strife destroyed the harmony which had prevailed through our Republic since the close of the Rebellion. There came to my memory a statement made to me by a Princeton professor after Wilson had been elected President of the United States. He told me that in a few years Wilson had almost disrupted the university, destroyed the unity which had existed within its walls, and demoralized the order and discipline of the institution. I was convinced that Wilson was now on the high road to bring about a similar condition in our country and that we were at the end of the period, at least under his régime, in which it could with truth be called the "United States of America."

The American Press Demoralized

BUT it was the American press which reached the lowest depths of degradation under the Wilson policy and the combined influence of the bankers and the munition-makers and the other war profiteers. The American public was only fed the news which England allowed.

Referring to the "news blockade" enforced against the United States, L. D. Edwards, war correspondent of the *New York American*, published at this time an article from which I quote the following significant extract:

By the aid of this most dangerous and most unblushing of all monopolies, Great Britain has become the mistress of all our thoughts, our sympathies and our passions having bearing on the World War. Flouted and scorned by the Entente, our shipping unlawfully seized, diverted and suppressed, our business men unlawfully tyrannized, our mails brazenly plundered, and our right to free intercourse with neutrals denied us, we have, nevertheless, perforce remained docile, obliging, enthusiastically obliging, because we have not been permitted to overcome our ignorance concerning the other group of nations, their conditions, methods, plans, ambitions, viewpoints, judgments and expectations.

The most vital international issue before this country today is that of its right to the news of the world. No more tyrannous oppression has been exercised on this country since the beginning of the war than that oppression which has prescribed for the American people just what they shall learn concerning the momentous events now transpiring and just what they shall not be permitted to learn.

Search and Seizure by British Officials Off Falmouth

I WAS extremely glad to board the *New Amsterdam* on January 19, 1916, which was bound for Rotterdam, and have the opportunity of breathing a cleaner and clearer atmosphere than that which I had been inhaling during the past weeks. Nothing of special interest occurred until we reached the Channel when we were ordered by a British torpedo boat to anchor off Falmouth. Here we were held for three days during which the ship and the passengers were subjected to a most minute search. I was the object of special attention particularly from a British official, one Guinness, an offspring of the Beer and Porter families. He had been employed in a banking house in New York and had a

general acquaintance with Americans and for this reason he was undoubtedly selected for the ignoble position that he then occupied. The English government maintained spies on all the ships who reported to their officials when they came on board anything suspicious in the conduct or conversation of the passengers. I had given a copy of the interview (printed in the last chapter), to a fellow-passenger * who was landing in England and asked him to send it to my brother who was crown-solicitor of Limerick. One of the spies must have observed this proceeding and it aroused his suspicion as a possible Irish revolutionary document. I was subjected to a critical examination on this subject by Guinness and I finally handed him a copy of it. He then said that my stateroom, baggage and any other effects must be searched. There were two American correspondents on board and I made a demand that they should be present as witnesses. Guinness refused and after a long argument he agreed to the captain of the ship being present. When we had assembled in my stateroom I made a formal protest to the captain stating that I recognized only his authority on the ship. He admitted to me the justice of my plea, but also avowed his own helplessness.

Guinness and another official conducted the search and not only examined all my papers but my soiled linen. Guinness carefully turned my socks with his own hands in the hope of finding some compromising document, and my soap and toilet articles he also critically examined. After the release of the ship we were stopped again at the Downs and subjected to another delay of twelve hours during which the boat and the passengers were again searched.

The behavior of the English officials who boarded the neutral ships was remarkable for its insolence and vulgarity. Even the officers were of a low class. They came on the ship under an escort of tatterdemalion marines armed with fixed bayonets. These were as dirty and slovenly a crew of ragamuffins

* When I returned to America for the national campaign I learned that the passenger to whom I had given the paper (which, by the way, he destroyed) was brought to Scotland Yard and subjected to all sorts of interrogations and annoyances. During the period of his stay in England he was constantly under surveillance and was so harassed by the police that he had to cut short his visit to England and return to America.

as I have ever witnessed and they reminded me of a company of Haytian Militia. They had been evidently recruited from the slums of Falmouth and had been stuck into castoff uniforms in order to give an appearance of military force. These parasites, to the horror of the passengers, were placed on guard at all the gangways and cabins. The officers took possession of the ladies' saloon and immediately started to light pipes and cigarettes which they puffed in the faces of their victims during the examination. The cheek and effrontery of this pirate crew was beyond belief. Smoking was prohibited in the ladies' cabin and notices were posted up to that effect. The captain told some passengers who protested against the breach of the ship's regulations that he was powerless and if he objected they would simply for spite delay the ship for another day. If an American refused to answer the questions put to him or objected to the examination, he was informed that the ship would not be released until he changed his mind.

Notwithstanding that all these proceedings were in gross violation of international law and an affront to American citizens, they were not only tolerated by President Wilson but no honest effort was made against their continuation. The value of Lansing's notes of protest was neutralized by the conduct of Ambassador Page who, when delivering them at the foreign office, informed Grey, the British Minister, that their arguments had neither his sympathy nor approval.

*In an Interview Mr. Gaffney Gives an Account of the Unlawful
British Search of Americans at Sea*

THE following interview with me appeared in the German press after my arrival in Holland:

RETURN OF ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

MINUTELY SEARCHED BY THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES. PAPERS SCRUTINIZED AND EVEN SOILED CLOTHES BAG CAREFULLY INVESTIGATED

AMSTERDAM, Sunday.—The former American Consul-General to Munich, Mr. St. John Gaffney, has returned from his trip to America aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam*. When the ship came within the three-

mile limit, English naval officers and marines came aboard off Falmouth and a most minute search was made of the ship and its passengers.

NO RESPECT FOR AMERICA

As Mr. Gaffney says, it is difficult enough to obtain an American passport in these days and when you have one it appears to command the smallest amount of respect from the English officials.

Passengers are treated by the English almost as though they were criminals, asked all kind of personal and impertinent questions, and there exists no respect for age or sex.

Whilst the ship was being searched the first-class passengers were ordered to the second-class cabin and there received their meals.

Mr. Gaffney was submitted to a third-degree search. He requested that two well-known newspaper correspondents who were on board might be called to witness that operation. That was refused him, but finally the captain was allowed to be present at Mr. Gaffney's special request.

MINUTE EXAMINATION

Evidently Mr. Gaffney was down on the English "black list," for his baggage was examined with merciless minuteness. Nothing was overlooked. His soiled socks were carefully searched by eager fingers, his boots the same, and so also all his soiled linen. All his private correspondence was gone through by a British officer of the name of "Guinness." An American senator had sent him some copies of his speeches in envelopes with the official Senate stamp upon them. These were ruthlessly torn open without the slightest hesitation or compunction. Copies of official correspondence with the Department of State were critically read. A second examination took place subsequently at the Downs.

Mr. Gaffney made formal protest against all those breaches of the freedom of an American traveling aboard a neutral ship. He classifies such actions as insulting to the United States and as degrading to the American citizen thus illegally victimized by the English. In his own particular case there appeared to be some quite special malice displayed by the British officials.

ARRIVAL IN BERLIN

Mr. St. John Gaffney expresses his strong opinions as regards the treatment of Americans by the English officials.

February 7, 1916—Having achieved the purposes for which he went to America, Mr. St. John Gaffney is once more in Berlin on his way to Munich, and is stopping at the Hotel Adlon.

In reply to the inquiries of the press correspondents, Mr. St. John Gaffney said: "The treatment of Americans by the British in the Channel is an insult and outrage. The American has no rights

which the English government respects and an American passport is contemptuously disregarded as insufficient evidence of identity. It is an infamy that our government allows its citizens to be insulted, humiliated and browbeaten by British agents as they have been during the past sixteen months. It is a shame and scandal that Americans traveling on neutral ships to neutral countries are compelled to expose their private and business correspondence for the information of British officialism and to gratify an interested curiosity. If we were landing in England such a proceeding would naturally be expected. It is a reproach to our government that such conditions should be any longer tolerated. *I appeal to Congress to put a stop to this degradation of American citizenship.* For over ten years I have represented the United States abroad in high positions and you can well understand how keenly I resent this illegal and outrageous proceeding, which is a gross violation of the rights and privileges of American citizenship."

Nothing compromising was found on Mr. Gaffney and his papers were all returned. The *Nieuw Amsterdam* was stopped for a day and night, also at the Downs. Several Americans were stripped, including Mrs. Viereck, a native-born American and mother of the editor of the *Fatherland*. This lady was stripped both at Falmouth and the Downs and almost collapsed from her humiliating experience.

The former Consul-General is convinced that England, in trying to destroy German trade, is laying the foundation stone for the ruin of American commerce. Through the examination of the private and business correspondence of Americans, England is becoming acquainted with the operations and trade methods of their business with the ultimate object of utilizing the same for her commercial advantage not only at present but when the war is over.

My Interview with Sir Roger Casement After My Return to Munich

AFTER a short stay in Berlin I left for Munich where I immediately had a conference with Sir Roger Casement. I gave him a full report of the political situation in America, particularly concerning the Irish movement. On this occasion he told me the story of the proposed Irish Brigade to be formed from the Irish prisoners who had been captured in the British Army. He said that shortly after the official declaration of the German government on the Irish question appeared in the German papers, he received numerous letters from Irish soldiers who were imprisoned in different German camps approving of his action and roundly denouncing the British government. Several of these

correspondents suggested the formation of an Irish Brigade so that in the event of a German victory at sea the brigade could be landed with adequate military supplies for the support of the revolutionary party in Ireland. Sir Roger admitted to me that in the beginning he was not very enthusiastic about this plan, but as the letters became so persistent he felt it his duty to take the matter up with the German authorities. He confessed also that in the inception of the movement he was responsible for a grave error of judgment by requesting the military authorities to place all the Irish together in one camp instead of leaving them scattered about in different parts of the Empire. The result of the maneuver was that the non-commissioned officers and the soldiers who had been in the British Army for many years and who were entirely Anglicized were transferred to a central camp with the younger elements who held nationalist views. A number of Carson Irish from Ulster also came with them. This was most unfortunate for the proposed Irish Brigade. The sergeants, Carsonites and corporals started a counter-propaganda against the Sinn Fein element and by bribery and threats they prevented hundreds from joining Casement's Brigade. They also used the argument with very good effect that the families of those soldiers who would enlist in the Irish Regiment would receive no support from the British government and naturally these men did not desire to expose their wives and families to penury and wretchedness during their absence. Sir Roger visited the Lemberg Camp only on two occasions and was received with courtesy and attention by the soldiers. The statement published in the English press that he was made the object of a hostile demonstration is absolutely untrue.

I regret to say that Gerard gave currency to this falsehood as he has to many others in America. I have learned the truth not only from Sir Roger himself but from the chaplain of the camp and several of the Irish soldiers who were present on both occasions. It was particularly emphasized by Casement that the brigade *should be formed not to fight for Germany but only to fight for Ireland*. In carrying out this idea of an Irish Brigade, the Irish soldiers only followed the example set before them by the allied governments in their dealings with the prisoners who fell into their hands. The Russian government had organized

several regiments from prisoners of Czech, Polish and Servian origin captured from the Austrian-Hungarian army. The French had recruited from the prisoners of Alsace-Lorraine origin who were subjects of the German Empire, and later on the Italians had organized companies of Czechs and prisoners of Italian-Austrian stock who had been captured. England had also armed the Armenian-Turkish prisoners and put them in the field against their own country.

It will also be remembered that upon the occasion of the Prince of Wales' reception in Rome, on the anniversary of Italy's declaration of war, two companies of Bohemian deserters composed his guard of honor.

The criticism therefore directed against Casement and the members of the Irish Brigade by the English and their servile following in America is consistent with the unspeakable hypocrisy which characterizes the so-called Anglo-Saxon race.

The Arrangement Made by Sir Roger With the German Government

THE following letter relates to Sir Roger's arrangement with the Imperial Government in regard to soldiers of the Irish Brigade:

Foreign Office, Berlin,
December 28, 1914.

DEAR SIR ROGER: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23rd inst. in which you submitted to His Imperial Majesty's Government a proposal for the formation of an Irish Brigade which would be pledged to *fight only for the cause of Irish nationalism*, and which is to be composed of any Irish prisoners of war willing to join such a regiment.

In reply I have the honor to inform you that His Imperial Majesty's Government agrees to your proposal and also to the conditions under which it might be possible to train an Irish Brigade. These conditions are set out in the declaration inclosed in your letter of the 13th inst. and are given at foot. I have the honor to be, dear Roger, your obedient servant.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN,

Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Office.

To His Honor, Sir Roger Casement, Eden Hotel, Kurfürstendamm, Berlin.

Text of Articles 6 and 7 of the convention concluded between Sir Roger Casement and the German Government:

6. The German Imperial Brigade undertakes "under certain circumstances" to lend the Irish Brigade adequate military support and to send it to Ireland abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition in order that once there it may equip any Irish who would like to join it in making an attempt to re-establish *Ireland's national liberty* by force of arms.

The "special circumstances" stipulated above are as follows:

In case of a German naval victory which would make it possible to reach the Irish coast, the German Imperial Government pledges itself to dispatch the Irish Brigade and a German expeditionary corps commanded by German officers, in German troopships, to attempt a landing on the Irish coast.

7. It will be impossible to contemplate a landing in Ireland unless the German navy can gain such a victory as to make it really likely that an attempt to reach Ireland by sea would succeed. Should the German navy not win such a victory, then a use will be found for the Irish Brigade in Germany or elsewhere. But in no case will it be used except in such ways as Sir Roger Casement shall approve, as being completely in accordance with Article 2.

Some time after my return from the States early in 1916, one of the Irish soldiers named Mahoney died at Zossen. Commandant Monteith came to Berlin to tell us the news and to ask us to attend the funeral, which was carried out with all the customary military regulations. The dead march was played by a military band and a company of German soldiers was in the procession. A detachment of the Irish soldiers fired the last salute. There were tears in the eyes of Sir Roger Casement and many of the boys as the coffin was lowered into the grave. A Jesuit Father delivered a short address and administered the blessing. When the services were over I had a talk with the priest who, I remarked, had a pronounced Irish accent. He told me he had learned English at Miltown Park and also had been frequently a visitor at my Alma Mater, Clongowes Wood College.

During the last six months of his stay in Germany Casement's health was not at all good and he was compelled to spend several weeks in a hospital in Munich. While he was there he wrote Mrs. Gaffney a note asking her to send him a Catholic priest. Casement had frequently told my wife and myself that he hoped that he would die in the fold of the Catholic church

and before his execution, I am glad to say, his wish was granted.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1916, I arranged a little festivity in celebration of the national holiday in Berlin to which a few of his intimate friends were invited. It was the last occasion that he was destined to meet them. A few days afterward he told me that word had come over from the United States to him that an insurrection would occur in Ireland on Easter Sunday. He was not happy over the news as he hated the useless effusion of blood and felt that it would be hopeless. He had been entirely cut off from Ireland and the United States and was in absolute ignorance regarding the situation and the extent of the preparations which had been made in the country for the rising.

CHAPTER XV

THE LAST DAYS OF CASEMENT IN BERLIN

DURING the last days of Casement's stay in Berlin I was constantly with him and Monteith, the Commandant of the Irish Brigade, and naturally there was feverish activity in winding matters up and making such arrangements as were necessary before his departure.

When Sir Roger first informed me of the expedition, he said that while he was in no sense responsible for it or the proposed "Rising," he would undoubtedly get the credit for both. For that reason, despite the order of the American-Irish leaders and my own objection, he would go and face the danger with his compatriots.

According to instructions from New York the Great General Staff of the German Admiralty arranged for the sending of the steamer *Aud* with the munitions and arms requested by the Revolutionary Brotherhood in Ireland. This request was transmitted to Berlin through the Irish Revolutionary Directory in America. It was the original intention of the German Admiralty that the Irish soldiers who had been recruited in Germany should sail on the *Aud*. Upon this plan being conveyed to Casement by the Irish Commandant Monteith he made objections and finally after much deliberation it was decided that Casement, Monteith and Beverley * should go on a submarine. To this end Casement asked me to use my good offices with the Government for the purpose of obtaining such

* Beverley, whose real name was Bailey, was brought on the expedition at the instance of Monteith. He and Monteith had served in the Indian army and there is no doubt that Monteith was honestly mistaken in his character. Upon Beverley's arrest in Tralee, he hastened to give all the information he had to the authorities.

a ship. I at once started on this mission and with the co-operation of an influential American citizen, then resident in Berlin, named Noeggerath, we were able to announce to Casement within a few hours that a submarine would be at his disposal for the voyage.

Sir Roger, as I have heretofore said, was opposed to the insurrection because he considered the time inopportune and the outlook for success hopeless. The treaty he had made with the Imperial Government contemplated a "Rising" only in the event of a British naval disaster and a successful landing of German troops with appropriate armament in Ireland. He regarded the military supplies on the *Aud* as wholly inadequate, although they fulfilled the demands of the Irish Revolutionary leaders, and he expressed grave doubt as to the probability of successfully landing them. His sensitive temperament was distressed beyond measure at the thought of his unarmed countrymen being mowed down by the cannon and machine guns of the English oppressor. Casement did not take into consideration the motives which inspired the Irish revolutionary leaders* who wished to show up the unutterable hypocrisy of England and at the same time prove that the Irish were ready and willing to die for their country. Before his doom was sealed in Pentonville Prison he realized the great moral blow which had been struck at England's prestige by these unselfish Irish Patriots who so gladly sacrificed their lives to expose England to the contumely and contempt of the civilized world.

In my last interview with Casement he handed me a small amount of money and asked me to pay some bills after his departure and apply the balance to the needs of the Irish soldiers. He then emptied his pockets of all the money which was in his possession, carefully counted it, and found that it amounted to

* De Valera, in a statement to an American journalist, said: "In what country, except Ireland, would you find 3,000 men who, without artillery, would rise up and challenge a power with 6,000,000 troops, half a million machine guns, and thousands of cannons? Go back and tell the Americans that so long as men live in Ireland who prefer death to slavery, the fight will go on—numbers play no rôle. The chief thing is self-respect. Full of pride in the sacrifice, the Irish enter the English prisons. We could not look in the eyes of our women if without a blow we fell down before England's tyranny."



SIR ROGER CASEMENT DRINKING TEA WITH MR. AND MRS. ST. JOHN
GAFFNEY AND OTHER FRIENDS IN MUNICH (SEPTEMBER, 1915)

seventy-five pounds. This he was taking with him for the immediate expenses of himself and his companions.

English Press Lies About German Gold Being Taken to Ireland

THE English press, particularly the notorious Northcliffe *Daily Mail*, repeatedly stated that Casement brought a large sum of German gold to Ireland! This is absolutely untrue to my own knowledge. Not one penny of German money was brought or sent to Ireland by German agents, Casement, or his followers. Northcliffe knew the truth in this matter and yet he deliberately and maliciously printed this lie in repeated editions of his gutter press.

Letters from Casement to a Friend Shortly Before His Departure

THE following extracts from letters give some idea of the anguish of mind Casement was enduring in the days before his departure:

26 March, 1918.

SUNDAY Morning, with the Dom * bells ringing.

It is the most hopeless position a man was ever in—I cannot conceive a more dreadful situation. To go—I go to far worse than death—death with the Cause of Ireland to sustain me would be a joyful ending—but I go to a sham trial—to be wounded in my honor—to be defamed and degraded with no chance of defense, probably, and then to a term of convict imprisonment that will end my days in jail a convict. For I should not long support the indignities and miseries I should be exposed to.

.

If I do not go—and I should be amply justified in stamping on the whole thing—I will be charged with wrecking the hopes of my people in Ireland just when they need help—or if I send the guns and the handful of men and...and stay here in safety—then I incur the contempt of all men as a coward who launched others to their doom and skulked in safety.

It is the most dreadful fate to overtake a man, I suppose there is possible to conceive.

The only possible end with any hope at all—is *death*. To be killed at once—to perish in the attempt.

R. C. 26th March, 1916.

* He refers to the bells of the Frauenkirche in Munich.

HOTEL SAXONIA,
Berlin W 9,
Budapesterstr. 10.

Delayed at last moment,
9.4.16.

It is so hard to see straight even when one is well and not troubled. I am not well in body, and have not been for long, and then greatly troubled too in mind—so that my remarks are often unjust and hasty and ill-considered.

The last days are all a nightmare. I have only a confused memory of them and some periods are quite blank in my mind—only a sense of horror and repugnance to life. But I dare say clouds will break and brighter skies dawn—at least for poor old Ireland.

Kindest thought for you.

Yours,

R. C.

I go tonight with Montieth and one man only "of the boys" and I am quite sure it is the most desperate piece of folly ever committed. But I go gladly—it is only right, and if those poor lads at home are to be in the fire, then my place is with them.

P.S.: Don't forget my sister, Mrs. Newman. . . . She is my nearest one and she will be heartbroken. Try to see her some day and cheer her up.

Adieu,

R. C.

How Casement Really Felt About the Expedition

ON the night before his departure, April 10, we dined together, and over a bottle of champagne I tried to cheer him up. But he was full of forebodings, not for himself but for the cause of Ireland. We talked of the efforts of former Irish leaders on the continent to enlist the support of France and Spain in behalf of Irish freedom and the difficulties and disappointments that these patriots endured. We recalled the fate of Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone and their companions, and Casement said to me in a voice of pathos, "I feel that I am going to my end, *but at least it is for Ireland!*"

When calling on him the following morning he gave me a letter for the Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, and another for Count George von Wedel, an important official of the Foreign Office. In these letters which he read to me he requested that I be authorized to act in his place in matters

relating to the Irish soldiers and that all funds coming from America for the Irish cause should be handed to me. He then wrote in my presence the following farewell message to the men of the brigade and requested me to read it to them a few days after his departure:

Berlin, 11th April, 1916.

To the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Irish Brigade at Zossen—

Comrades of the Irish Brigade:

We are going on a very perilous journey and have been forced to leave you without a word of farewell or explanation.

It was not possible to tell you anything or to explain then or even now fully why we did not bring you with us.

One reason, perhaps the chief reason, why you are not accompanying us today, is to keep you out of the very grave dangers we have to face. We are sure that many of you, perhaps all of you, would have gladly faced those dangers too, seeing that it is in the cause of Ireland we go, but we have decided it was unfair to you to appeal to your courage in a matter where all the elements of danger are very apparent and those of hope entirely wanting.

You must, therefore, forgive us for going in silence from you and leaving you to the continued idleness and inactivity that have already been so harmful to you and contrary to your hopes when you volunteered for the service of Ireland.

Should we live, you will know and understand all; if we do not return or you hear no more of us, you will know we have gone to do our part in our country's cause, according to what we felt was right.

Mr. St. John Gaffney is being commissioned by Sir Roger Casement to do all in his power to help you during the rest of your stay in Germany.

When the war is over your many friends in America will certainly have you in their care and affection.

Meantime you have many hard and unhappy days to face, many trials and temptations too—and perhaps harsh things to bear. Bear all with brave, stout Irish hearts—thinking that in what you did you sought to serve your country and that no man could give to that cause more than you gave—you gave yourselves.

Having given yourselves so freely, keep yourselves bravely.

Be obedient, disciplined, and patient, and rest assured that whatever happens to us who are going from you today, you will find many friends in the world and your names will be honored still in Irish story.

ROGER CASEMENT, *Chief.*

ROBERT MONTEITH, *Lieutenant.*

W. JULIAN BEVERLEY, *Sergeant.*

Final Preparations for Casement's Departure Are Made

It had been arranged that an auto should come to the Hotel Saxonia for Casement and his followers at 6 P.M., and for precautionary reasons we deemed it advisable that I should not be present at the final parting, but should remain at my hotel awaiting any last message from Sir Roger.

While we were discussing these matters Monteith joined us and I asked him to bring the Limerick * flag with him to Ireland. He cheerfully assented, and I commissioned him, in the event of the capture of my native city, to raise the flag over King John's Castle. Sir Roger then handed to me a few souvenirs including an ink bottle which he had carried with him for twenty-five years, saying to me, laughingly, that it had never leaked during all that time. He gave me remembrances for some of his friends, not forgetting the stenographer who did his work. He also entrusted to me a portmanteau containing his private papers with full instructions as to their disposition. As I was preparing to take my departure he sat at his desk and wrote a hurried note of adieu to Count and Countess Blücher zu Walstat, now Prince and Princess Blücher, and asked me to deliver it personally to them. The Blüchers had been acquainted with Casement for many years, and although the Countess was a born English-woman she remained friendly despite Casement's anti-English opinions. He frequently called on them during his visits in Berlin.

About 5:30 P.M. Monteith came to my room in the Hotel Esplanade with the portmanteau containing Sir Roger's papers and another parcel which contained the uniform, sword, etc., of

* Mr. Gaffney had presented a flag of Ireland and a flag of Limerick to the brigade. Both these flags were made in Limerick some twenty-five years before. The Limerick flag was found by the police concealed on the shore with other articles near where Sir Roger and his companions landed in Ireland. The English military authorities at first considered the flag as a revolutionary emblem. It was produced during the trial of Casement where Sullivan, his counsel, announced that it was the flag of the ancient city of Limerick. The uniform and accompanying letter have been handed over to the government of the Irish Free State by Mr. Gaffney. The flag is at present in the Tower of London with some of the other Casement relics.

Sergeant Beverley. Attached to the parcel was the following hastily written note:

MY DEAR GAFFNEY:

I send you Sergeant Beverley's uniform, etc., as a souvenir at Lt. Monteith's request. Keep them safe and sound and send them some day to Dublin, R. I. A.

Yours ever,

11.4.16.

ROGER CASEMENT.

This was the last communication, written or verbal, which I received from him.

Sir Roger also sent me the following copy of the letter which he had just written to Count George von Wedel who had charge of the department of Irish affairs in the Foreign Office.

Berlin, 11 April, 1916.

DEAR COUNT VON WEDEL:

I am asking Mr. St. John Gaffney to do what he can on behalf of the Irish soldiers still at Zossen, and have written today a letter to the Imperial Chancellor on the subject.

Such money as I still have left I am handing to Mr. Gaffney to expend on the men in the way already established since they took up their quarters at Zossen.

I think the best thing to do would be to put them to some useful occupation here in Germany until the war is over, and then to send them to America where Father Nicholson is already doing what is possible to provide for their future there.

It is always probable, and indeed very likely, that further remittances from my friends in America will be received here in the usual way.

If so, I beg that they may be handed to Mr. Gaffney who will expend them as seems best in the interest of the men.

I should like Mr. Gaffney to have access to the men at Zossen, and I beg you as a last act of personal regard to do all in your power for them to mitigate the cruel disappointment they will surely labor under and to make clear ultimately to them how I left them without any explanation and apparently abandoned them.

I have acted throughout in what seemed to be their best interests and in now leaving them behind I feel I am still trying to do my duty to them.

I enclose a list of the remaining Irish soldiers at Zossen, a copy of which is also given to Mr. Gaffney.

With renewed expressions of warm personal regard,

Believe me, Dear Count Wedel, Yours sincerely,

ROGER CASEMENT.

After the capture of Casement and during his trial, the English press and the attorney-general constantly accused him of having been "bought" by German "gold." They also alleged that the insurrection had been financed by Germany. In the first statement he made at his trial, Sir Roger made the following solemn declaration in court on this subject:

THE "IMPUTATION OF GERMAN GOLD"

THERE is a widespread imputation of German gold. I owe it to those in Ireland who are assailed with me on this ground to kill the lie once for all. It was published by newspapers in America originating, I think, in this country, and I cabled to America and instructed my American lawyer, Mr. M. F. Doyle, to proceed against those papers for libel. Those who know me know the incredibility of these malicious inventions, for they know that through all my past record I have never sold myself to any man or to any government, and have never allowed any government to use me.

From the first moment that I landed on the continent until I came home again to Ireland I neither asked for, nor accepted, a single penny of foreign money, either for myself or for the Irish cause, nor for any purpose whatever, but only the money of Irishmen. I refute now so obvious a slander because it was so often made. Money was offered to me in Germany more than once, and offered liberally and unconditionally, but I scorned every suggestion of the kind, and I left Germany a poorer man than I went there.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the debt of gratitude I owe to the many Irish friends and advisers who helped me when I was on the continent. I take the opportunity here also of stating how deeply I have been touched by the generosity and loyalty of these English friends who have given me proof of their affection during these last few weeks of strain and trial.

I trust, gentlemen of the jury, I have made this statement clearly and emphatically for all of you, and that even my most bitter enemies may apprehend that the man who in the newspaper is just "another Irish traitor" may be a gentleman.

There is another matter I wish to touch upon: The attorney-general of England thought it consistent with the traditions of which he is the public representative to make an illusion in his opening address to the "rising" in Ireland, of which he has brought forward no evidence in this case from first to last. You and I, gentlemen, would have supposed he would have scrupulously refrained from so doing. Since the "rising" has been mentioned, I must state categorically that the rebellion was not made in Germany, that the rebellion was not directed from Germany, was not inspired from Germany and *that not one penny of German gold financed it.*

I have touched upon these personal matters alone because, intended as they were to reflect upon my honor, they were calculated to tarnish the cause which I hold dear.

The Death of Sir Roger Casement

THE English jury declared Sir Roger guilty of treason and he was hanged in Fentonville Prison August 3, 1916. The English government refused to give up his body to his relatives and buried it within the prison walls in a grave of quicklime.

The English Continue to Pile Infamy Upon His Head

NOT content with having put this knightly figure to death, his English enemies having previously failed in the plot against his life instigated by the British diplomat, Findley, now proceeded to traduce his memory by means of a diary which was unquestionably a forgery. It was "discovered" by the notorious Sir Basil Thomson, Assistant Commissioner of Police at Scotland Yard, whose criminal methods were known and whose immoral practices in Hyde Park subsequently caused his arrest and arraignment in a London Police Court January 4, 1926. Such was the character of the sponsor of the Casement *diary*.

The New York *Nation* in its issue of September 24, 1930, has the following article:

THE "Special Branch" of Scotland Yard, also known by the mysterious ciphers M. I. (Military Intelligence), was originally founded during the war by Sir Basil (then Mr.) Thomson, assistant commissioner of police, as a subsection of the Criminal Investigation Department. But in the manner of every secret police, the special branch soon separated itself from the parent organization to become a state within the state. In 1920 Sir Basil Thomson was publicly rebuked in Parliament by the Home Secretary for having without authority afforded assistance to Czarist refugees engaged in the production of forged copies of the Moscow *Pravda*. The bogus *Pravdas* printed in London could serve no purpose so long as they bore the English printer's imprint; the copies were therefore taken to Scotland Yard where the "guillotine" in the police printing shop was obligingly brought into service to cut off the tell-tale imprint. In that condition each edition was sent on to the Russian border states and furnished gullible newspaper correspondents with their authority for dispatches beginning, "Even the official Bolshevik organ admits . . ." Repudiated by the Home Secretary, Sir Basil

Thomson next placed himself above the Home Office and would recognize the authority of none but the Prime Minister in person. This was too much even for Mr. Lloyd George. Sir Basil was superseded.

In the opinion of many conversant with the iniquitous operations of the English authorities, this so-called diary was a product of the forgery bureau which General Charteris, M.P., Chief of Intelligence of the War Department, boasted he founded and conducted during the World War.

This worthy exponent of English Imperialism, in a speech delivered in the National Arts Club, New York, declared with pride (*New York Times*, October 20, 1925) that his branch of the service in addition to the corpse factory story was responsible for the forgery of diaries, letters, etc., which were afterward alleged to have been found on the bodies of German soldiers and which were widely distributed as propaganda to discredit and defame the armed forces of the Central Powers. Charteris stated with absolute unctiousness that one of his agents had a regular "passion" for the fabrication of such documents.

Forgery is a well-recognized instrument of English Imperial propaganda as instanced by the letters attributed to Charles Stewart Parnell which were proved in an English court to have been forged by a notorious character named Pigott at the instance of the government organ, the *London Times*. During the trial of his famous case against the *Times* Parnell was represented by Herbert Asquith, later British Premier, who confronted Pigott with the proofs of his guilt. Pigott's exposure as a tool of the *London Times* caused consternation in government circles particularly when it became known that the conscience-stricken criminal had fled the country and committed suicide from remorse.

The Cause of Ireland Is Carried On

GRIEF over Casement's murder, horror and detestation at the crime of his butchers are mingled with regret that he did not live to see the glorious fires of liberty, defiance and revolution which after his martyrdom flamed up all over Ireland. But this passionate appeal of the Irish soul, this magnificent opposition to the brute might of Britain might never have attained the

same exalted force had not the blood of Casement fructified the Irish cause anew. The English had but slain his body, the poor worn frame that fell into their hands. His work, however, had already been done, despite the tasks that still awaited him, and his word and his gospel had already gone forth throughout the land and inspired the final victory of the Irish revolution.



CHAPTER XVI

I TRAVEL AGAIN TO THE UNITED STATES

IN August, 1916, I determined to go to the United States for the purpose of taking part in the coming presidential election and thus fulfill my duty as a citizen. I had never failed since attaining the dignity of American citizenship to participate actively in the national campaign and to exercise my right to vote.

It was necessary to have my passport extended, as the time limit was about to expire, and when I made such an application at the consulate where I was formerly the chief, it was seized by my successor, a man by the name of Gale, who sent it on to Berlin referring the responsibility to the ambassador. To my amazement I subsequently learned that Gerard cabled to Washington inquiring whether my passport could be extended for the purpose of returning to my own country. The reader must remember that this extraordinary proceeding occurred in the case of one *who had just concluded a period of over ten years' service as American consul-general* and the affront was primarily put upon him by his successor in the consulate from which he had resigned but a few months before. Of course Lansing could not refuse me the right to return even if my presence in the United States was objectionable to his English masters, and he instructed Gerard to inform Gale at once to extend my passport for the time I required. In this matter Gerard and Gale tried to serve English interests without any regard for American rights. In view of the approaching presidential election, however, Lansing thought it wiser not to provoke a conflict with me which might create additional ill

feeling among my fellow-countrymen in America who had already indicated their indignation at the unjust treatment I had received from the administration.

England Searches the Steamship at Kirkwall, Scotland

ON August 17, 1916, I sailed on the *Frederic VIII* from Copenhagen. This was the commodoreship of the Danish line. All neutral steamers sailing through English waters were now, *in violation of international law*, forced to call at *Kirkwall* for investigation, otherwise they rendered themselves liable to seizure. We, therefore, made for that port in which, when we cast anchor, ships of most of the merchant fleets of the civilized world were already assembled. I had here my second object-lesson of England's interpretation of the "freedom of the seas." My indignation, however, was not so much aroused by England's arrogance and lawbreaking as by the fact that President Wilson acquiesced in it and endured the outrage with composure and without serious protest. This was indeed a time of humiliation for all patriotic American citizens on board our ship. Some Anglicized Americans who would readily have swapped the Stars and Stripes for the Union Jack, seemed to be flattered by the attention of the pirate crew who boarded us and seemed to take a kind of pride in the insults to which they were subjected. A few of these craven souls sought to curry favor with their tormentors by boasting of their loyalty to England's cause or by making sneering allusions to *President Wilson who was too cowardly, they said, to come to her rescue.*

I surprised a German-American Jew telling an English lieutenant that his recent trip to Russia had convinced him that the steamroller would soon be en route for Berlin. The Englishman, turning on this offensive person with a look of contempt, replied, "I wish I could share your confidence but I don't. All our official information is to the contrary."

My Experiences in This Ship as Given in an Interview

I DESCRIBED my experience on this ship in an interview given to the New York press upon our arrival, which, however, was practically ignored, while wide publicity was given to a fake

story invented by the Jew to which I shall refer later on. The correct text of the interview appeared in the *Gaelic American* of September 2, 1916, and is as follows:

THOMAS ST. JOHN GAFFNEY ARRIVES FROM GERMANY

FORMER AMERICAN CONSUL SHAMEFULLY TREATED IN ENGLISH PORT
AND MISREPRESENTED IN NEW YORK

New York, September 1, 1916.

Thomas St. John Gaffney, former United States Consul-General to Munich, retired by President Wilson for alleged anti-British bias, has been subject to most shameful misrepresentation by various American newspapers. The "Gaelic American" furnishes the truthful account of Mr. Gaffney's treatment and experiences as follows:

WHEN the Danish liner *Frederic VIII* dropped anchor in Kirkwall Sunday, August 20, she was boarded by a larger force of British naval officials than is usually the case. The lieutenant in command immediately demanded that Mr. St. John Gaffney be sent for. It will be recalled that after even years' service as consul-general in Germany, President Wilson requested the resignation of Mr. Gaffney last November for alleged pro-German sympathies. Upon the appearance of Mr. Gaffney he was ordered by the British officials to open his room and unlock his various pieces of baggage.

Mr. Gaffney sent for the captain of the ship, and in the presence of the English agents and the captain made a formal protest. He declared that the only authority he recognized on the ship was that of the captain, that the ship was compelled to enter Kirkwall under duress, that Kirkwall was not a port of call, and that the English had no right under international law to *invade the privacy of neutral passengers traveling from a neutral country on a neutral ship to another neutral country*. Mr. Gaffney further declared that it was sufficient that the ship's papers be examined to discover if any contraband was on board and not those of private neutral individuals.

He asserted that the Danish ships are forced to place themselves within the jurisdiction of the British waters in order that the British authorities may have an opportunity of outraging the persons and rights of American citizens. The captain took official notice of Mr. Gaffney's protest with an acknowledgment of his regret and helplessness.

For over an hour Mr. Gaffney's effects were subjected to a most critical examination, at the conclusion of which he was compelled to submit to a personal search. Nothing indicating that Mr. Gaffney was in any sense a participant in the war or as engaged in the support of a belligerent in his war operations was found. The English declared, however, that no printed matter giving Germany's point of view was

to be allowed to reach the United States and their instructions were to seize such documents found in Mr. Gaffney's possession.

All his papers, therefore, whether they referred to the war or his private business and family affairs, were appropriated. Two one hundred dollar coupon bonds of the Wisconsin Edison Company, his personal address and memorandum book dealing with Mrs. Gaffney's American property, and the affairs of her daughter, Baroness von Wolf, were taken from him. Various clippings from American, English, French and German papers and also several books and pamphlets were seized. Some of these had already been examined at Falmouth last February and returned to Mr. Gaffney by the English officials there and were American publications. The following is a partial list:

America and Germany, two copies by Stoddard; *Searchlights of the War*, by Dernburg; *The Freedom of the Pope in the Light of the World War*, *How England Prevented an Understanding With Germany*, *England and the Continent*, *Who Are the Huns?* *North America and Germany*, *The Coming War*, *England and Germany*, *Who Is to Blame for the War?* These two latter books are by the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Mr. Gaffney demanded and received a receipt for these publications. It is unnecessary to say that he protested energetically against all these outrageous and illegal proceedings which were witnessed with indignation by a number of passengers.

PROTEST TO AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

Before the English left the ship Mr. Gaffney wrote the following letter to the American Ambassador in London:

"Excellency:

"I have to inform you that today, in gross contravention of international law and despite my protest made to the captain of the ship I was searched in the most ignominious manner by the British authorities at Kirkwall. My luggage was not only searched but my person also. Two bonds of the Wisconsin Edison Company of the value of one hundred dollars each, were taken from me and a number of magazines and books and private family papers. I most earnestly protest to you against this outrage committed against the person of an American citizen, who was for nearly eleven years the consul-general of the United States in the cities of Dresden and Munich. I urgently request you to take measures for the immediate return of my property, particularly my personal address book, notebook and certain letters dealing with the financial accounts of my wife and daughter which are addressed to the Guaranty Trust Company of New York and the Fifth Avenue Bank."

Having sealed and stamped it he handed it to the English lieutenant in the presence of American witnesses, requesting him to mail the letter. The lieutenant took it, but stated that he *would give no assurance that the letter would be forwarded to the American ambassador.*

Having concluded their "blockade" methods with Mr. Gaffney the British next called for Mr. Joseph B. Lederer, another first cabin passenger, who had been to Germany and Austria-Hungary in the purely business interests of the American private business institution of John Nemeth, with an office at 395 Broadway, New York. Lieutenant Adams of the Royal British Navy, accompanied by three sailors, compelled Mr. Lederer by *force majeure* to submit his baggage and person to search.

In order to more quickly exterminate the "Huns," Lieutenant Adams confiscated two German newspapers which happened to be in his stateroom. Mr. Lederer obtained a signed receipt from Lieutenant Adams for the two papers, which he intends to keep as a memento and reminder of the greatness of the British navy.

Naturally Mr. Gaffney is furious over these proceedings, which he describes as humiliating to American citizens, and he will at once proceed to Washington and lay the matter before Secretary Lansing. "England," said he, "holds our government in contempt and sneers at the rights of American citizens, and if she were able to overthrow Germany our country would be the next to be dealt with."

PROTEST TO THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN

Mr. St. John Gaffney made the following protest to the captain of the steamship *Frederic VIII*:

"Sir—I have the honor to confirm in writing the verbal protest made by me to you on the occasion of the search of my personal effects by the British at Kirkwall. I enclose herewith a memorandum dealing with this illegal and unwarrantable proceeding which was in gross violation of all the canons of international law.

"I would respectfully request that you submit this protest and the accompanying memorandum to the board of directors of your company, which I trust will forward the same to the Royal Danish Government.

"I shall without delay after my arrival in New York proceed to Washington and make a similar protest in person to the American Secretary of State."

MEMORANDUM

1. War vessels have the right of search of all vessels without regard to nationality.
2. The execution of this right, according to international law, is limited by the scope and purpose which it is supposed to serve.
3. In order to ascertain if any contraband, etc., is on board it is sufficient that the ship's papers be examined and not those of private individuals.
4. Private or personal papers may be examined only by the captain of the vessel as the legal representative of the police authority.
5. Letters or papers handed over by a third person for delivery in

the United States should be regarded as postal matters, and according to international law are free from examination.

6. *The English Government in response to the protest of the neutral powers has agreed to the standpoint that the mails can be examined only in English territorial waters and not on the high seas.*

7. *The Danish ships are compelled by "force majeure" to place themselves within this jurisdiction at Kirkwall, which is not a port of call.*

8. *If the English claim to regard an American not as a neutral but as in affiliation with a hostile power, it is an old and universally accepted principle of international law that neutrals are forbidden such actions which may be interpreted as direct participation in the war or as immediate support of a belligerent in war operation.*

9. *Should the English maintain that an American's journey is not undertaken for private reasons but as an agent of a belligerent a basis of international law would still be lacking for the English procedure.*

It has been established by various precedents that all agents, messengers, or envoys of a belligerent cannot be prohibited from a passage to a neutral state, above all when traveling on neutral ships. This point of view is maintained if the courier or agent is the subject of a hostile power. England upheld this principle in the case of Mason and Slidell in the Trent case.

Further Discussion About the Sinking of the "Lusitania"

AT my table there happened to be placed the salesman to whom I have already alluded. This person had been in business in Germany for several years and was understood to have made considerable money in selling American shoes. The authorities in Berlin viewed him however with suspicion and, notwithstanding an intimacy which he claimed to have with Gerard, a short time after the outbreak of the war he suddenly left the country. He then went to Russia where, according to his statements, he sold a *million dollars' worth of shoes to that government*, which was also engaged in the war for "liberty and democracy." When he was not boasting of his close relations with members of the Russian Ministry and the methods by which he secured his orders, he was engaged in vilifying the Germans. I required all my self-possession to avoid giving a proper answer to this man until finally one day at lunch in speaking of the *Lusitania* he denounced in vile terms the Germans as cowards and baby-killers, etc. I quietly made the

answer that if I was the commander of a United States submarine and it was in my power to sink an enemy auxiliary cruiser carrying munitions to kill Americans, I would certainly do so, particularly if the passengers had been warned beforehand. In fact a high officer of our navy had told me that an American commander would have been court-martialed if he had failed to sink an enemy ship under the same circumstances. Upon this remark he fabricated a story which he gave to the New York newspapers which were only too anxious to print something to my disadvantage in order to prevent my taking an active part in the political campaign. All efforts of mine to secure the publication of my version of the occurrence were fruitless. The widest publicity was given in the press to this fake, while the robbery of my papers, my securities and the outrages to which I and the other passengers were subjected by the English were condoned if not approved of. To such a shameless condition of servitude to English interest had the press of New York fallen!

I should apologize to my readers for referring at such length to this disagreeable experience. My object, however, is to show the continuous and persistent policy of the Anglo-American press and the Wilson administration to discredit me because I was opposed to their program of forcing our country into the war. I was not their only victim, for every man whose patriotism and conscience revolted at the humiliating surrender of our rights on the seas to England was subjected to similar slander and misrepresentation.

The two passengers who sat on either side of me and who were present on the occasion of the incident just described wrote me the following letters:

359 Broadway, New York,
September 1, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. GAFFNEY:

To say that I was surprised to read in the papers about your alleged conduct on the *Frederic VIII* is to put it mildly. I, who sat next to you at every meal, would surely have heard and resented the reported remark, "I wish I was the man who had fired the torpedo into the *Lusitania*," which you were accused of having uttered.

If, as the papers state, Simon attributed this remark to you, he has done so with the full knowledge in his heart that he was deliberately lying.

Inasmuch as we were all returning from the war zone it was only

natural that the main topic of conversation should revert to the great war. You, being born an Irishman and believing that you were removed from office through the machinations of the British, were not very kindly disposed toward the English side and Simon, having been driven out of Germany for good and sufficient reasons, was equally unfriendly toward the Teutons, so it was quite natural that you and he were at loggerheads. But your disagreements were always one of opinion only, and at no time during the entire voyage did your discussion of the war create any unpleasantness or make any of the passengers aboard feel uncomfortable.

I am writing you these few lines because I believe that as a matter of justice and fair play you are entitled to them and I have no objection to this letter being made public. Drop in and see me when you are in my vicinity.

Very cordially yours,

JOSEPH B. LEDERER.

33 Colfax Avenue, Roselle Park, N. J.

September 2, 1916.

DEAR MR. GAFFNEY:

I have read with amazement the story which appeared in the New York papers during the last few days in regard to an occurrence which is alleged to have taken place on the steamer upon which we traveled together. I need not say how disgusted I was at reading in New York papers, expressions attributed to you which you never made use of. I sat on your right during the whole voyage and never heard you give expressions to any political opinion that was not honorable to yourself and the American government. Simon, who is responsible for the story, had informed us that he had sold a million dollars' worth of military shoes to the Russian government, was violently pro-Ally but you always answered with good humor. There was never any scene in the dining room, and no one ever left or made any protest against any argument which took place at our table.

I was present at the discussion in which the *Lusitania* incident was referred to, and did not hear you make use of the expression attributed to you by Simon. Your conduct during the whole voyage was that of a thorough American gentleman, and I am sure that a very grave injustice has been done you by this report. On that account I write you this letter which you can use any time you desire.

I remain, dear Mr. Gaffney, with kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

EDMUND R. WANCKEL.

P.S. I am ready at any time to substantiate the above before court.

E. R. W.

The Case of the "Lusitania"

Now what are the facts about this ship? The *Lusitania* was included in the British navy register as an auxiliary cruiser. According to the manifest subsequently published by the Collector of the Port of New York, she was laden with 5,500 barrels of ammunition, 4,200 cases of Springfield cartridges, and 11 tons of gunpowder. *The carrying of these munitions on a passenger ship was a gross violation of American law.* The *Lusitania* and other ships, as admitted by Colonel House, had also violated international law by hauling down the British flag and flying the Stars and Stripes as they approached the British Isles. Despite the official notice from the German Embassy warning the passengers that the *Lusitania* was liable to attack by submarines if she entered the prohibited zone, they defiantly insisted on traveling on the doomed ship. She was struck by only one torpedo and her rapid sinking was caused by the explosion of the war munitions which she was transporting *contrary to American law.*

In January, 1923, a decision was rendered by the New York Court of Appeals in the case of the Vanderbilt heirs who claimed insurance on account of the death of Alfred Vanderbilt on the *Lusitania*. The verdict as to the legality of the sinking of the ship as a justifiable act of war was the first evidence of a return to an unprejudiced sense of equity and objective reasoning by a high American Tribunal and was generally approved by public opinion. It was the more sensational because the sinking of the *Lusitania* was in a large measure the basis of the slanderous campaign against the German submarines which subsequently followed. The judgment of the Court of Appeals very properly avoids all sentimentality and is purely based on the statutes and the acknowledged rules regulating warfare on the seas. Among the chief points in the court's decision were the following:

1. That the *Lusitania* was a ship under the control of the British admiralty and belonged to the war fleet.
2. That she was constructed as an auxiliary cruiser and equipped for the carrying of guns.

3. That members of the British war fleet served as officers and crew.

4. That there was a lien on her held by the admiralty and that she was practically under charter to the British government.

5. That the voyages of the *Lusitania* between Liverpool and New York could be made only with the cognizance and permission and for the objects of the British admiralty.

6. That the *Lusitania* was used for the transport of war material for the British army and fleet.

It was sufficient, therefore, for the German High Command to have had it publicly known and in fact never officially denied that the *Lusitania* was an auxiliary cruiser built under contract to the admiralty and at the disposition of the war fleet at any moment. It is evident, therefore, that the sinking of this ship laden with munitions for the killing of Germans was an act of war absolutely justifiable by the laws governing naval warfare as has been confirmed by the Court of Appeals of the state of New York in the above-quoted opinion.

It is of importance also here to cite the opinion of Admiral Sims, commander of American naval operations in European waters during the war. I quote from the *New York Nation*, April 25, 1923:

The disaster that occurred to the *Lusitania* was a great blow to the Germans. It was wholly unexpected by them, I think, for this reason: If you had asked any naval officer or naval constructor what would have happened when this vessel was torpedoed I am sure that the great majority would have said that after being struck she would have floated for hours before sinking and that, being close to land, she would have been beached. I have never believed that Germany had any idea that the torpedoing of that vessel . . . would have caused the loss of any lives at all. . . . I am speaking, you understand, as a seaman speaking of other seamen. . . . If the situation had been reversed, if we had been in Germany's place, and if we had believed that losing the war would have meant domination of our country by England—be sure to make that point—we, too, would have sunk ships without warning.

The submarine commanders generally acted in a humane manner and in some instances gave the boats of torpedoed vessels food and water and a tow toward land, and sent out wireless signals giving their positions. . . .

*My Complaint to the Department of State Regarding the
Search and Seizure of My Property at Kirkwall*

THE following letters were written to the Department of State by my lawyer in regard to my treatment at Kirkwall and the confiscation of my property. As we expected, we received no satisfaction and the important private letters which were taken from me were not returned.

September 5, 1916.

HON. FRANK L. POLK,
Counselor, State Department,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I beg to advise you that I have been asked to represent Hon. T. St. John Gaffney, former consul-general to Munich, and to file with the State Department a complaint in regard to his treatment by officials of the British government while on his way to America, and, further, to ask the government to demand the return of his property and reparation for the outrage. The facts are as follows:

On August 20, 1916, the steamship *Frederic VIII*, belonging to the Danish-American Line, upon which Mr. Gaffney was a passenger from Copenhagen to New York, was obliged under the British naval regulations to stop at Kirkwall, which is not a port of call, and on that date the British officials compelled him to open his stateroom and all his baggage, and also insisted upon a *search of his person*. Mr. Gaffney formally protested against this unwarranted and illegal proceeding. Notwithstanding his protest the British officials took from him two one hundred dollar coupon bonds of the Wisconsin Edison Company, his personal address and memorandum book (which in addition to addresses contained information and instructions which he was to follow in connection with his wife's property in America), twelve pamphlets and books and a number of clippings from various newspapers and letters addressed to the Fifth Avenue Bank and the Central Trust Company of New York, signed by his wife and daughter giving these banks instructions to recognize him as their attorney in connection with the disposition of their property.

A receipt was given to Mr. Gaffney, upon his demand, for the articles taken from him. By reason of these unwarranted acts, Mr. Gaffney, his wife and daughter will be put to great loss and inconvenience, inasmuch as instructions of an important nature in connection with the insurance of his wife and the disposition of her property cannot be fulfilled until the books and papers are recovered. I would respectfully request, therefore, that the Department immediately cable to the American ambassador, London, requesting him to obtain the immediate return of these articles and to make such protest to the British government as you think the facts will warrant. Serious finan-

cial loss as well as financial complications will occur if these private papers are not promptly restored.

Before the British vacated the ship, Mr. Gaffney wrote a letter to the American ambassador in London requesting his kind offices to secure the prompt return of his property. The British naval lieutenant took the letter, but would not give a guarantee that it would be forwarded. Mr. Gaffney also informs me that various letters sent by Mrs. Gaffney and her daughter to the Fifth Avenue Bank and the Central Trust Company, of New York, during the past year in regard to payment of taxes, insurance, etc., have not been delivered owing to the confiscation of the United States mail from neutral ships by the English and that serious financial and other embarrassments have been the result of this proceeding.

At Mr. Gaffney's request I am herewith sending you a printed statement which he prepared and which will give more in detail the facts of the case.

Thanking you in advance for your prompt attention to this, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) MICHAEL FRANCIS DOYLE.

Upon the return of some of the articles taken from Mr. Gaffney, the following letter was sent to the Honorable Robert Lansing:

September 26, 1916.

HON. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 19 enclosing copy of a dispatch from the American Embassy of London and a sealed parcel received by the Embassy from the British admiralty containing certain articles belonging to Honorable T. St. John Gaffney, taken from his person at Kirkwall, Scotland, while passenger on the steamship *Frederic VIII*, sailing from Denmark to New York. Mr. Gaffney finds that the said parcel contains his personal address book, a memorandum book and two bonds of the Wisconsin Edison Company, but there are still missing numerous other documents which against his vigorous protest he was forced to surrender. The British officials have therefore in their possession the following:

1. Letters given to him by his wife and daughter addressed to the Fifth Avenue Bank, New York, Central Trust Company, New York, and the Mutual Life Insurance Company. These letters were for the purpose of identification and authorizing Mr. Gaffney to transact business for them.

2. The following publications: *America and Germany*, by John

L. Stoddard; *Searchlights of the War*, by Dernburg; *The Freedom of the Pope in the Light of the World War*; *How England Prevented an Understanding with Germany*; *England and the Continent*; *Who are the Huns? North America and Germany*; *The Coming War, England and Germany*; *Who Is to Blame for the War?* Some of these pamphlets are London publications and the two latter books are by an Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Mr. Gaffney feels that as a citizen of the United States he is entitled to proper protection and that British officers had no right to search his person and seize his property while on a *neutral vessel sailing from a neutral country to the United States*. The port of Kirkwall is *not a port of call*, and the vessel upon which he was a passenger was forced to enter this port by reason of the British naval regulations *which are contrary to international law*. The principle involved is of great consequence. If the American government acknowledges the right of a belligerent nation to search American citizens while on neutral ships sailing from a neutral port without making proper protest and obtaining satisfactory damages, the greatest reflection is cast upon those having the administration of our affairs. I am sure, however, that the Department will do everything to firmly impress upon the British government the necessity of an explanation and disavowal, as well as a return of the documents mentioned, so that the same occurrence shall not happen again to other American citizens.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) MICHAEL FRANCIS DOYLE.

The Honorable James K. McGuire, a prominent Democrat, and for several years mayor of Syracuse, wrote a strong protest to Secretary Lansing concerning the treatment of Mr. Gaffney, to which he received the following reply:

THE COUNSELOR
FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. MCGUIRE:

I received your letter of the 18th instant, but owing to the Secretary's absence it has been impossible for me to answer it before.

We have twice cabled our ambassador at London in regard to the case of Mr. Gaffney and I hope that all the papers and property taken from him will be returned in a short time. The Department is giving, and will continue to give, the question of his search and treatment the most careful attention.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK S. POLK.

Following is a copy of Mr. Doyle's final letter to Secretary Lansing:

November 28, 1916.

THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of November 23 with an enclosure from Ambassador Page of London. An extract from this communication reads as follows:

"The Admiralty officials *incline to the belief* that the only documents taken from Mr. Gaffney for examination were returned to the Embassy in the package which Mr. Laughlin forwarded to the Department in his dispatch No. 4676 of September 1 last."

If you will kindly refer to my letter of September 26, you will find that Mr. Gaffney acknowledged the receipt of the package alluded to by Mr. Page, which only contained his personal address book, a small memorandum book and two bonds of the Wisconsin Edison Company. Then follows a list of the articles and letters which were still withheld by the British authorities. At the time the effects were confiscated from Mr. Gaffney at Kirkwall, he received a receipt for them from the British officer in charge, which is in my possession. He further wrote a letter to the Ambassador in London, giving a list of the said articles and requesting their return. Mr. Gaffney has been held here three weeks without being able to carry out instructions conveyed in the communications of his wife and daughter which were taken from him at Kirkwall, although they had absolutely nothing to do with the pending war and related absolutely to the personal interests and property of these ladies in the United States.

I regret that I cannot discover from the dispatch of Ambassador Page that he has received any instructions as to entering a protest against the unlawful treatment of Mr. Gaffney, while traveling on a neutral ship from a neutral country to the United States.

I repeat what I said in my letter of September 26—that if the American government acknowledges the right of a belligerent nation to search American citizens on neutral ships and confiscate their property, without making protest and obtaining satisfactory compensation, the gravest reflection is cast upon those having the administration of our affairs.

The feelings of my client and his family have been painfully outraged by these proceedings which have been intensified by the news which has just reached Mr. Gaffney that his son-in-law has been killed at the front. I trust the Department will promptly advise Ambassador Page to insist upon the return of Mr. Gaffney's letters and property.

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) MICHAEL FRANCIS DOYLE.

No answer or acknowledgment of this letter was received and no action was taken by the Department of State.

CHAPTER XVII

MY EXPERIENCES IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE NATIONAL ELECTION

Never were the people of any country so skillfully, so deliberately and in such cold blood, delivered into the hands of one man to be used at will and for his own ambitions, and who became in his hands, by virtue of power and circumstances, as helpless as sheep before their shearers, as when the American people elected Woodrow Wilson their President for a second term.

STEWART E. BRUCE.

DURING my stay in the United States I gave my active support to the candidacy of Hughes. I had many conversations with important political personages, including members of both houses of Congress, and I was certainly astonished to observe the astounding ignorance as the result of the British propaganda which prevailed among our public men on the European situation.

After listening to me attentively when I emphasized the military power, the organization, discipline and resources of the Germanic powers and that they were engaged in a war of defense they would simply answer: "You are all deceived in Germany, the government does not allow you to know the truth."

"Why," I would answer, "the Central powers alone among the belligerents permit the enemy newspapers to circulate among the people. The Paris edition of the English and American papers, as well as the home issues, are on sale and exposed in the cafés. The Paris *New York Herald* and *Daily Mail* are in *Munich* three days after publication. There is no embargo against the most notorious English, French or Italian newspapers,

while on the other hand the entire German press is excluded from the countries of the Entente, and a person found in possession of a German paper would be liable to imprisonment if he escaped lynching by the populace."

I also called attention to the fact that the German press published the complete war news of the enemy while the Allies either excluded the German reports altogether or censored or falsified them beyond recognition. The people of Germany and her allies, I contended, received daily a true and accurate account of the war. My interviewer would express surprise at this information and turn the subject into another channel, but if I met the man a week afterwards and again discussed the war with him, he would make exactly the same statement, "the German people don't know the truth about the situation."

I was convinced, however, that with the exception of the subsidized English propagandists, the munition manufacturers, and the capitalists there were few responsible persons who wished America's entrance into the war. From conversations I had with men in the confidence of Wilson, I inferred that he also was in favor of keeping the peace at that time. He was re-elected *solely for the reason that he had kept the country out of war* and that was the chief plank in his speeches and in his platform. He received several million non-partisan votes on this issue, which assured his election. If Hughes had been victorious and he had inaugurated a war policy there is no doubt in my mind that Wilson would have opposed it and that the majority of the Democratic members of Congress would have supported him in such an attitude.*

There would therefore have been an imposing opposition in Congress to our declaration of war which would surely have prevented it. The Republican party which was under the control

* My opinion has been recently corroborated by the publication of a letter of the British Ambassador Sir Spring Rice to Lord Robert Cecil, dated October 17, 1917, from which I quote the following extract: "It was fortunate for us that the Republicans were defeated for had Mr. Hughes been elected and declared war as he would have been forced to do, it is probable that the great mass of the Democratic Party would have opposed the war bitterly and that there would have been a strongly divided nation."

of the bankers and munition interests which were profiting by the war was so far committed that it was impossible to expect a change in its policy. The election of Wilson was therefore an untoward catastrophe for the country because he knew that he could rely on the support of his Republican opponents who were preaching war and that he could carry his own party with him in his secret design to bring about a conflict with Germany.

Gerard and Swope

A SHORT time after my arrival in New York it was announced that Gerard had secured leave of absence and was sailing to the United States. As usual he was accompanied by one of his press agents, a man by the name of Swope who was attached to the *New York World*, of which paper Gerard had been counsel.

On the steamer, crossing the ocean, it appears that Swope was constantly in the company of Gerard, and in view of their close relations it is not probable that he would have sent a long wireless to his paper without submitting it in advance for the approval of the ambassador.

In this dispatch I was prominently featured, Swope alleging that I had departed for America with a large sum of money collected by German-American organizations in Berlin for the purpose of making propaganda among the Irish-American Catholics in favor of Hughes. *Both Gerard and Swope knew that this statement was a downright falsehood without a vestige of truth*, and yet it was flashed to the United States for the sole purpose of compromising my political activity during the campaign. I immediately wrote the *World* that the dispatch was an absolute falsehood and added: "I never knew or heard of an American organization in Germany that raised money for propaganda work for Hughes in this country. I was never asked to bring, nor did I bring, money from Germany for that or any political or propaganda work in the United States. The statements in the *World* in regard to myself are deliberate and premeditated lies and I have referred the publication to my lawyers for an opinion as to whether they are libellous."

The *World* in its morning and evening issues published my letter in small type without comment, and I learned that Swope

received a reprimand for having used my name in this connection.

Upon my return to Berlin I made it my business to make some inquiries about the antecedents of Swope and obtained the following information from a reliable source. It appears that Swope instead of being an offspring of the great Anglo-Saxon race which he claimed to be was the product of a German Jewish family. In September, 1914, Swope first appeared in Berlin with the news that one hundred thousand Russians had landed in England en route to Belgium. He had already cabled this story to his paper and he assured the correspondents with whom he spoke that he had actually seen detachments of this army.

Some weeks later his instinct for faking again asserted itself when he cabled an interview with Weddingen, the Commander of the famous *U-9* which a short time previously had sunk the three British cruisers in the North Sea. This interview was made up by Swope from the official report of Weddingen to the Minister of Marine—*Swope was never in Wilhelmshaven and never saw or spoke with the gallant Commander, who was exceedingly indignant at this typical instance of American journalistic enterprise.* During his visits to Berlin Swope made his headquarters at the Embassy and was constantly with Gerard, who, as I have previously mentioned, had formerly been counsel for Swope's paper, the *New York World*.

*My Return Trip on the Steamship "Stockholm"—
December, 1916*

DURING my stay in America I had received advices from my wife that drafts for considerable sums of money which had been sent her by her New York bankers had been confiscated by the English. As our country was supposed to be still neutral, I made formal complaint to the State Department against this illegality which was supported by the energetic protest of my lawyer, Mr. Michael Francis Doyle, of Philadelphia, who a year before had been attached in an official capacity to that branch of our government. Our protests were ignored and of course no action was taken by Lansing. We were not the only Americans who

suffered from this outrageous breach of international law. Hundreds of American families tranquilly residing in Germany and Austria were reduced to the direst straits from similar robbery by the English and were practically abandoned to their fate by our government. Many American bankers played a dubious rôle in this business of transferring money to Germany. They accepted the currency in New York although they knew the drafts would be seized by the English, and when notice of the non-arrival of the drafts reached them they declined to return the money to the senders until the original drafts, which the English had appropriated, were delivered to them. Meanwhile, of course, they enjoyed the use of the money. Naturally it was impossible for the unfortunate victims of this piracy to produce these drafts and it was only after great expense in wireless dispatches and months of deprivation and anxious waiting that they finally were able to get their money. Checks on New York banks sent by Americans in Germany for the payment of taxes and life insurance were also confiscated by the English, entailing great trouble and financial loss on the insured. The drafts for the premiums on the life insurance of Mrs. Gaffney and myself were seized by the English, and I had great difficulty in preventing the policies from being cancelled which would have occurred only for an accidental visit that I paid the company during my stay in New York. In no instance did the State Department give any satisfactory aid or succor to these innocent victims of English lawlessness and aggression. The reader must bear in mind that this violation of the sanctity of the mails was condoned by Wilson for a long time before America's entrance into the war.

I Plan to Return to Europe

LATE in October I learned that my son-in-law, Baron Hans Heinrich von Wolf, had fallen on September 4 at the head of his battalion in France. I felt it therefore to be my duty to go back to my family and bring such funds with me as would be necessary for their requirements and for our return to the United States if that could be satisfactorily arranged. I immediately applied for a passport assigning the reasons for my con-

templated voyage and naming the steamer upon which I had reserved passage. In view of the few steamers sailing, which were very much overcrowded at that time, it was necessary to book several weeks in advance which of course was known to the American officials. Notwithstanding that I brought to bear important influence in Washington for the purpose of hastening the granting of my passport, I was delayed five weeks with the result that I was unable to travel on the steamer on which I had purchased my ticket. Finally it was only through the influence of United States Senator O'Gorman, who actively interested himself in my case and twice telegraphed urgently to Lansing, that I obtained my passport. By this needless and callous conduct of the Wilson administration I was subjected to much annoyance and expense and it was only by a stroke of luck that I finally succeeded in securing a stateroom on the steamship *Stockholm* which was to sail on December 2. This ship belonged to the Swedish line and to my great joy I quickly discovered that the political inclination of the majority of the passengers was decidedly in favor of the Central Powers. I quickly learned from the officers that the ship was suspected by the English and that we would be undoubtedly held for a few days and rigorously overhauled in Kirkwall. There was a very merry and convivial crowd of passengers on board whose good humor was inexhaustible, and the weather being favorable, we had a pleasant passage to the now notorious haven of Kirkwall.

Our Arrival at Kirkwall

As upon the occasion of my last enforced visit the harbor was crowded with ships of all nations waiting to be examined and to receive the gracious permission of England to proceed to their destination. I had another object lesson in the international significance of the question of the "freedom of the seas" and how that doctrine was interpreted by John Bull, viz., *freedom of the seas for English commerce and English ships, but for no others!*

After we had cast anchor, the customary crew of unwashed pirates with fixed bayonets clamored up the gangway and assumed control of our ship. They were followed by a number

of slovenly officials of one grade or another who took possession of the ladies' cabin as usual and proceeded to light their pipes and cigarettes while they issued orders for their victims to be brought before them.

For a few days previous to our arrival the question was discussed with much animation as to whether I might be taken off and interned in England. I had therefore made certain arrangements in anticipation of such an event so that my family should be notified, and an American friend had promised me that he would at once go to Christiania and invoke the assistance of the United States Minister.

I was the first passenger commanded to the ladies' saloon which appeared to my friends as rather ominous. Knowing that it was the custom of the English to seize any printed material, no matter how innocent, I adopted the plan which was successful on my last two voyages of *concealing such papers in the upholstery of the furniture.*

Upon inquiry I learned that on previous trips the English had not examined with special care the smoking-room of the *Stockholm* so I hid away a number of newspaper clippings dealing with American and English public opinion and also some articles from myself on the war. I also concealed an illuminated copy of the proclamation of the Irish Republic containing pictures of the revolutionary leaders who were so foully murdered by English officers in Dublin during the rising in 1916. I took care, however, that a duplicate of this document should find another hiding place.

After carefully examining my passport and asking me a number of unnecessary questions in relation thereto, I was ordered to unlock my stateroom for the purpose of searching my baggage for contraband or food. As usual I invoked my American citizenship, the neutrality of the ship, the more than friendly neutrality of my country, and protested vigorously against the outrage. *The Englishmen laughed at my declaration of citizenship and sneered at my protest!* I demanded the presence of witnesses which was granted with an ill grace. I had been warned that the English would not hesitate to place some compromising document in my luggage for the purpose of justifying their action in taking me off the ship if they decided

to do so. All my luggage was carefully examined, the stateroom furniture subjected to Roentgen ray treatment, and the mirror unscrewed from its frame. *Nothing was found!* I was then led before another group of officials who, I understood, represented the army, and underwent another cross-examination! Finally I was released and returned to the smoking-room where I was received with jubilation and numerous were the questions which I had to answer about what had taken place.

The Papers Which I Hid in the Smoking-Room Are Discovered!

DURING my absence it appeared that several marines under command of an officer had invaded the smoking-room and made an exhaustive search of the furniture *with the result that my documents and the Irish declaration of independence were discovered!* Upon these being handed to the officer in charge he made the audible remark "the property of Mr. St. John Gaffney no doubt." All that day and night the search went on, the officers of the ship and the passengers were fuming with rage, unable to do anything but curse in several languages the English defenders of "liberty, democracy and the freedom of the seas."

Another Examination!

AFTER dinner the following afternoon I was enjoying my coffee with some friends when a steward approached me in a serious manner and said that my presence was again required in my stateroom. I invited two officers of the Swedish flying corps who were sitting with me to accompany me in the capacity of witnesses to which they cheerfully agreed. Outside my stateroom I found two men in citizen's clothes, one of whom greeted me by name in a rather friendly Irish accent. He said that he desired a few minutes' conversation with me if I would be good enough to grant him the favor. I begged him and his companion to enter my cabin and also the two Swedes. Upon the appearance of the latter the officials who had meanwhile informed me that they were attached to the Irish Political Police-Department asked the Swedish officers what they wanted. They replied that

they were present at my invitation as witnesses and that they would not leave unless ordered by me to do so.

"Why should Swedes come between Irishmen?" said the first policeman to me.

I answered that I had made it a practice to have no conversation with officials in the English service except in the presence of neutral witnesses. He urged me again to give him a chance to have a private word with him, and finally seeing that it was useless he asked me to show him my passport. I protested that that paper had already been twice examined by two different sets of officials on the previous day and I wanted to know what was his object. He answered that he was under special orders from the Irish Secret Political Division and only desired to carry out his duty. As the man was polite and appeared rather shamefaced over his mission, I handed him the paper which he carefully investigated and from which he made notes. He then told me that he came from the same part of Ireland as I and was acquainted with members of my family. After this we all got on a different footing. I ordered Swedish punch for the party and we had an entertaining and very amusing session for quite some time. I shall never forget that afternoon. Towards its conclusion the two Swedish officers, the two Irish policemen and myself had resolved ourselves into a good-fellowship meeting, I occupying the chair. Before we parted, the policemen, whose condition was more than mellow, begged me not to attempt again to pass through English waters during the war as I would certainly be taken off the boat and interned. I subsequently learned that such was the intention of my tormentors on this occasion, but they could find no flaw in my passport which would give them a warrant to do so. The English government did not believe the State Department had given me a passport to return to Germany and they suspected that I was traveling on a false paper.

There was great excitement on the steamer during my long absence as it was rumored that I had been taken off, so when we returned to the smoking-room we were received with great enthusiasm and innumerable invitations to alcoholic refreshments.

Finally We Sail On

NOTWITHSTANDING the vigilance of the English I managed to smuggle through a large package of coffee and other food supplies, also a quantity of cigars and tobacco. The duplicate copy of the Irish proclamation was also safe. At last upon the third day we were released and without further excitement we continued our voyage to Göteborg.

So strict was the English blockade against the carrying of food to Germany from Sweden that I had the greatest difficulty in securing permission to bring with me the above-mentioned supplies although intended for my own use. Even at that time the Swedish authorities were terrorized by English spies and agents who swarmed in the different ports interfering with the lawful trade and commerce of the country. I had the same experience in Copenhagen and had to invoke the aid of my friend, the American Minister, before I could secure the release of the portmanteau containing these supplies.

My wife and daughter met me in Berlin where we remained during the Christmas holidays. On Christmas night we dined at the Esplanade Hotel which was crowded with a fashionable company that was quite remarkable under the tragic war conditions. The following day we traveled to Dresden and remained there a few weeks visiting old friends before we started on our homeward trip to Munich.

CHAPTER XVIII
THE GERMAN-IRISH SOCIETY

ON the nineteenth of February, 1917, the German-Irish Society (Deutsch-Irische Gesellschaft) was founded in the Hotel Kaiserhof, Berlin. The object of the society was set forth in the first issue of the *Irische Blätter*, its official organ, as follows (translation):

THE aim of the German-Irish Society is distinctly laid down in the second paragraph of its statutes. It favors the strengthening of all points of contact between Germany and Ireland. Hence the society intends furthering all enterprises which may conduce to the fulfillment of its purpose; it also proposes to take all necessary measures in order to bring about a better understanding between the two peoples and serve their mutual interests.

It is certainly for the benefit of both Germany and Ireland to know each other better and to realize how indispensable they are to each other in their mutual relationship. The Society means to put forward these facts in their true light so that the two nations may grasp them more thoroughly. In consequence, its task will not be confined to the period of the war; *on the contrary, the Society will certainly develop still fuller activity in the years which succeed the European conflict.*

The present war has distinctly proved that Germany has but very few friends in the world. The Irish have, however, shown themselves to be such, both in their own country and in America, and the German Empire ought not to undervalue this friendship. Ever since the beginning of hostilities the American Irish have enthusiastically embraced the German cause and, in union with the German-Americans, have bravely fought for true neutrality. There is no doubt that without the help of the Irish associations in the United States the politically unorganized German-American elements would have been doomed to total inactivity.

At the present moment the position of Germany's friends in the United States has naturally become much more difficult. We know that



GERMANIA POINTS OUT TO ERIN THE PATH OF
PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

(A CARTOON CIRCULATED IN GERMANY BY IRISH SYMPATHIZERS
DURING THE WAR.)

there is a strong current in the great Republic against America participating in the war; this view is chiefly supported by the American Irish. Thus it is highly important to encourage these friends of Germany. The founding of the German-Irish Society offers a visible proof of the Empire's gratitude and sympathy. Such a token of grateful esteem ought to be given and dealt out with generous measure to the Irish in their own country. The heroic revolution of the people during Easter week, 1916, is remembered by all. The rising in Dublin where 3,000 armed Irish patriots braved a British force, ten times stronger than their own, excited sympathy in all parts of Germany for Erin and her people. The rising was drowned in streams of blood by England—"the protector of small nations"—but the spirit which caused it still survives. In its note to America dated January 31, 1917, the German government made itself the mouth-piece of its subjects by eloquently expressing the hope that the coming peace might restore autonomy to the Emerald Isle. Whatever may happen in the future there can be no doubt that the present war has served to bring the two countries into closer contact with each other, a fact which will remain even though the World War should not give Ireland the right of self-determination. It will be the duty of the German-Irish Society to make the bonds between Germany and Ireland strong and lasting.

The important part which Ireland is destined to play on the political stage of the world, both in questions of political economy and general culture, is based on its remarkably favorable geographical position at the entrance to the seas, its extraordinary natural fertility, and the moral strength of the Irish people. There is an abundance of the necessary physical gifts and physical qualities for the uplift and prosperity of the country provided the first impulse be given to it. The German-Irish Society's aim is to encourage this beginning to the best of its ability. It will try to open up Ireland to the world and in the first place to Germany; to cause the voice of Erin to be heard by all nations; and to further the progressive development of the "Green Isle" in the mutual interest of the German and of the Irish people.

In this endeavor the Society expects to meet with the full support of all classes of the German nation. The executive committee and the board of directors of the Association bear testimony to the fact that it consists of prominent men, belonging to the most varied political parties and social classes, who are all working in the common cause. The Society appeals to the whole German nation without any distinction of standing, or of political and religious views, so that with their help it may be able to accomplish its purpose in a practical way.

At the celebration of the founding of the German-Irish Society the secretary received several letters including the following from His Excellency the Quartermaster-General, Ludendorff, and His Excellency the Secretary of State, Zimmermann.

G. H. Qu., February 8, 1917.

SIR:

I beg to thank you for informing me of the founding of the German-Irish Society. I hope that the new Society will succeed in attaining its proposed aim.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) LUDENDORFF.

FOREIGN OFFICE

Berlin, February 7, 1917.

SIR:

I am much obliged to you for the interesting news you so kindly communicated to me in your esteemed favor of the third instant concerning the founding of the German-Irish Society. I welcome the formation of the Society and wish all success to your endeavors.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

The directory of the German-Irish Society for the first year included the following: Herr Erzberger, Leader of the Center Party; Count Westarp, Leader of the Conservatives; and Baron von Richthofen, Member of the German Parliament.

The following members were elected on the Board of Administration: Ernest Bassermann, Member of the German Parliament; Councillor of Justice, Dr. Sell, Member of the German Parliament; Prince Bluecher von Wehlstatt, Member of the House of Lords; Count Privy Councillor, Professor Dr. Brandenburg (Leipzig); Dr. Georges Chatterton-Hill; T. St. John Gaffney, Former American Consul-General; Councillor of Commerce, Dr. Karl Goldschmidt (Essen s. d. Ruhr); Director of the Land-Court, Groeber, Member of the Parliament; Privy Councillor of Commerce, Max von Guilleaume (Köln); Conrad Haussmann, Member of the Parliament; Dr. Heckscher, Member of the Parliament; Canon Dr. Kaufman (Aachen); Prince Alois zu Lowenstein, Member of the Parliament; Prelate Dr. Mausbach (Münster i. w.); Dr. Kuno Meyer; Privy Councillor, Professor Dr. Eduard Meyer; Count Mirbach-Sorquitten, Member of the House of Lords; Count Caspar Preysing; Dr. Pachnicke, Member of the Parliament; Dr. Flieger, Member of the Parliament; Dr. Julius Pokorny; His Excellency Freiherr von Reichenburg, Member of the Parliament; Privy Councillor, Professor Dr. Dietrich Schaefer; Privy Councillor, Professor Dr. Theodor

Schiemann; Dr. Schlittenbauer, Member of the Bavarian House of Commons; Privy Councillor, Professor Dr. Ferdinand Toennies (Kiel); Privy Councillor of Justice, Trimborn, Member of the Parliament; Banking Director, Dr. Wittenberg.

The Society Establishes a Magazine

AT the first meeting it was decided to issue a monthly magazine to be called *Irische Blätter*. This publication attained a great success under the editorial direction of the General Secretary of the Society, Dr. Chatterton-Hill. It had a wide popularity and was extensively quoted in the continental press. Some of the most important political personalities and writers in Germany and Austria-Hungary were amongst its contributors. Naturally it was a strong supporter of the Sinn Fein policy in Ireland. After the revolution in Germany the difficulty of securing print paper compelled the society to cease publishing the magazine and later limited its literary activities to issuing a monthly bulletin under the direction of Professor Kuno Meyer till his sad demise.

At the annual election held on February 28, 1918, His Excellency, the Minister of State, Baron von Schorlemer Lieser, Member of the House of Lords and Privy Councillor Dr. Karl Goldschmidt were elected on the directory in the place of Herr Erzberger and Baron von Richthofen.

Telegrams Sent to General Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Chancellor Count von Hertling

AFTER the conclusion of the regular business the telegrams quoted below were sent to General Field Marshal von Hindenburg and to the Chancellor Count von Hertling. The telegram sent to von Hindenburg read as follows (translation):

THE German-Irish Society upon the occasion of their annual meeting requests your Excellency to graciously accept their respect and felicitations. We hope that the masterly-led forces under the direction of your Excellency, will also overcome England, the worst foe, which will surely bring about a successful ending of the World War. Imbued with the conviction that an independent Ireland would assure the freedom of the seas and therewith the freedom of the world from England's domination, we look forward to an honorable German peace

which can alone give a real guarantee for the future to Germany and Ireland.

The translation of the telegram to the Chancellor read as follows:

THE German-Irish Society thanks your Excellency for the repeated reference to Ireland in discussions upon the restoration of the autonomy of nations at the conclusion of peace. The Irish people, who over a thousand years ago brought their high culture as well as Christianity to Germany, lay claim upon the principle "Justici fundamentum regnorum" to free them from English oppression. The independence of Ireland will be a sure guarantee of the freedom of the seas from Anglo-Saxon domination which is sought for not only by the German, but also by all the nations.

In response to the telegram of the Society the following answer was received from General Field Marshal von Hindenburg:

MY most hearty thanks for your friendly remembrance. I hope that German victory will also be of benefit to Ireland.

GENERAL FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG.

The Death of Count Caspar von Preysing

A FEW weeks after his election to the Board of Administration, Count Caspar von Preysing met his death on the battlefield. The count was a hereditary Bavarian Councillor of the empire and the head of a family which for over seven hundred years had been distinguished in Bavarian history. The Munich press paid remarkable tribute to the chivalry and bravery of the young Count and gave the following details as to his last hours:

ON the early morning of April 14, the day of the storm on Bailleul, Count Preysing undertook a patrol. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon he was severely wounded by an exploding shell. Help was immediately secured and he was brought to the first-aid hospital on the shoulders of three English prisoners. He died at 8 o'clock in the evening, both as a hero and as a Christian. Immediately after being wounded, he seized the hand of his adjutant and gave him his last wishes, asking him to give his tenderest greetings to his mother.

"Conceal nothing from her. Write her that I died as a good Catholic and at Easter I received the Holy Sacrament."

Before his death the Count received the last rites of the Church. He bore without complaint the most terrible pains. It was his wish to be buried on the field of battle and there to remain so long as the war

continued. He was a faithful warrior of his king and a devoted disciple of Christ.

Such was the heroic death of one of our Society's directors.

On several occasions during the war the society gave receptions in Berlin to its members and other friends of the Irish cause.

The *Continental Times*, Berlin, on December 18, 1917, published the following:

THE German-Irish Society (Deutsch-Irische Gesellschaft) organized about a year ago recently held its first public reception at the Hotel Adlon. The society has acquired a membership of three hundred. The reception was truly cosmopolitan; there were gathered a large representation of government officials and members of the Reichstag, Dr. Rifaat, the leader of the Egyptian Nationalists, Dr. Halid Bey of Turkey, a deputation of Indian representatives, one American and a number of neutral journalists.

An address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Pfleger, Member of the Reichstag, and one of the governing board of the society. Mynheer Ludwig Dornay, tenor of the Royal Opera at The Hague, rendered a number of Irish ballads in an inspiring manner, concluding with the "Wearing of the Green." The speaker of the evening should have been Mr. Georges Chatterton-Hill, a leading member of Irish circles in Germany, but owing to illness his place was taken by Professor Eduard Meyer of the Berlin University. In the course of his remarks, Dr. Meyer explained to his hearers how valuable an ally to Germany Ireland had been during the course of the war. The Irish support, he said, had not come in the shape of armed assistance but through passive resistance, which had placed enormous difficulties in the way of successful conduct of the war by England. The speaker closed his impressive address with the hope that the war would also witness the end of Ireland's seven hundred years of servitude and the dawn of her era of liberty.

The Celebration on St. Patrick's Day, 1918

ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1918, was also celebrated with great enthusiasm in the Hotel Adlon. The ballroom was crowded with leading figures in the world of diplomacy, politics, finance and art. People of Irish birth and ancestry came from all parts of the Empire, also a delegation of Irish prisoners of war. There were present representatives of India, Egypt, Persia, Algeria, and Finland. The Foreign Office was represented by Privy Councillor Baron von Stumm, Baron von Wesendonk and Councillor of

Legation Dr. Roedinger. The Minister of War sent Majors Pfaff and von Herwarth. The Marine was represented by Count von Stolberg and Captain von Selchow.

Count Westarp opened the evening with a speech in which he reviewed the heroic struggle of the Irish for liberty and condemned the tyranny and barbarism of the English government in its recent conduct toward the Irish people. *He was followed by Baron von Stumm, the representative of the Foreign Office,* who concluded an important address with the following declaration:

In their heroic fight for national independence, the Irish may always count upon the deep and loyal sympathy of the whole German nation.

In the course of the evening the following telegram was sent to the German Emperor (a translation):

ON the occasion of a social meeting in honor of St. Patrick's Day, the German-Irish Society most humbly begs to salute your Majesty. Its members fervently hope that the mighty German sword, having succeeded in restoring liberty to the formerly enslaved nations of Eastern Europe, will also boldly break the chain by which England is keeping Erin bound. The freedom of the seas can only be guaranteed by a free Ireland, capable of taking its stand as the watchtower of the Atlantic.

His Imperial Majesty promptly answered the Society's message as follows (a translation):

His Majesty the Kaiser and King has received the telegram of the German-Irish Society with pleasure and expresses his thanks. The fight for freedom which brave Ireland is carrying on is watched by His Majesty with lively interest and sympathy in the proud knowledge that the German sword has already given freedom to a number of nations.

(Signed) PRIVY COUNCILLOR VON BERG.

After the appointment of Admiral von Hintze as Secretary of State, the Society sent him a telegram of felicitation to which the following answer was received (a translation):

WHILE our opponents express themselves only in words on the question of the protection of small nationalities, Germany has shown her attitude by deeds and that her struggle for existence and her victory would bring about the freedom of the seas and help oppressed peoples. Germany is fully convinced how necessary for the future assurance of the world's peace is the victory of the brave Irish and also the freedom of India and Egypt.

In reply to the telegrams sent to Chancellor Count Hertling and Secretary of State von Hintze on the occasion of the meeting of the German-Irish Society at Hamburg to commemorate the anniversary of the martyrdom of Sir Roger Casement, the following answer was received from the Foreign Office (a translation):

IN the name of the Imperial Chancellor I thank the German-Irish Society for its telegram sent by those assembled to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Sir Roger Casement. The noble patriot who gave his life for the love of his country and aroused the sympathy of Germany in whose heart there lies full goodwill for, and desire to protect, the small nations.

(Signed) v. HINTZE.

On June 10, 1918, the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* published an important article on the Irish question.

As the term is employed in Germany a semi-official newspaper is the organ in which members of the government express their views in other than the accredited official documents. That all of official Germany had taken a keen and sympathetic interest in the struggle for freedom being waged by the Irish people was amply evidenced by the famous Kaiser telegram directed to the German-Irish Society in response to their message on the occasion of the St. Patrick's Day celebration.

The semi-official organ dealt with articles which had appeared in the English press violently abusing Germany for countenancing and encouraging the "traitorous" Irish in their struggle for freedom. The London press, however, ignored the fact that the English government by bribery, corruption, and other unspeakable methods was suborning the Czechs and Latin Tyrolese to desert from the Austrian army. In fact some time previously when the Prince of Wales had paid a visit to Rome his escort of honor was composed of Czech deserters.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote as follows (a translation):

THE Latin-Tyrolese fighting with the Italians and the Czechs who fought with Russia and Italy against Austria-Hungary were pronounced national heroes by the English. With characteristic logic though they believe they can stultify so great a national movement as that of Ireland by condemning the Irish for maintaining secret relations with the enemy, and they base this accusation on alleged evidence,

concerning events in the remote past, of which the English government surely is not now for the first time cognizant, but must long ago have had communicated to it by the American government. Yet the British government only sees fit to take action after this extended lapse of time.

The Irish-American leaders had charged Wilson's administration previous to our entrance into the war with having furnished information to the British Foreign Office in regard to their support of the Sinn Fein movement.

GERMANY reserves the right to view the Irish struggle for freedom with the admiration and sympathy which President Wilson claims to devote to all the oppressed nations of the earth. A national struggle of this sort is a far more powerful incentive to our reverence than the petty attempts to pervert the motives and sow dissension. The ultimate reckoning which England will have to pay to history for her treatment of Ireland may possibly be temporarily delayed by such subterfuges but its payment can never be avoided by our enemy in the end.

Statement of the Society to the German Press after the German Government Had Accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points

AFTER the acceptance by the German government of President Wilson's fourteen points as a basis for a just peace, our society issued a statement to the German Press signed by Dr. Hill and myself from which I quote the following paragraphs (a translation):

THE principle of President Wilson according to which no nation in the future is to be ruled against its own will does not only apply, as the journals of the Entente are wont to emphasize, to Poles, Czechs, Italians, the Southern Slavic nationalities and the Armenians but also to the Irish, the people of India, the Egyptians, Persians and Boers. These nationalities, which have been subjected and bled by British Imperialism, must make good their imperishable claims to justice in the peace conference.

The principle of the self-government of nations which has been proclaimed by President Wilson is of great importance also to Germany. If the question of Alsace-Lorraine, if the question of the Prussian Poles and German Bohemians is submitted to international discussion, Germany must demand that all be treated in the same way. If separation is to be made for injustice done during the past, no country will be obliged to make reparation to approximately as great a degree as Great Britain. If the world gives its decision in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, Bohemia and Poland, it must also pass its verdict in

regard to Ireland. If the conference of nations grants to the Czechs, the Italians and Southern Slavic nationalities the place claimed by them in the confederacy of nations, it cannot ignore the inalienable rights of Ireland. The Irish question has retained in a full measure its eminent importance for Germany and the entire world. Wilson has proclaimed the principles according to which the future order of the world which is to be built up on the ruins of the old must allow to the weak precisely the same rights as to the strong; *the principle*, according to which the future order of the world should be governed, must preclude all that contains the germs of new bloody conflicts. Wilson's acute mind has recognized that the subjection of nations to a foreign power is the principal cause of the wars of the past. It must not continue. We, Irish, confide in the sense of justice of the American President into whose hands, following the example of Germany, we have placed our fate. We trust that the German government, mindful of the valuable support of the German cause by the Irish during this war, will also in its own special interest at the proper time exercise its influence in favor of the just claims of Ireland.

I need not recall that Wilson at Versailles abandoned the Fourteen Points upon which the Germans had surrendered their arms, nor did he raise his voice at the peace conference in behalf of Irish freedom.

His interest was solely exercised in the recognition of the new Slavic States, the Polish Corridor, the betrayal of the Austrian Tyrol, and the transfer of German Alsace-Lorraine to France.

Ireland, which had far greater claims on his consideration, was entirely overlooked and he allowed his great principle of self-determination in her case to be completely ignored.

On February 27, 1919, the third general meeting of the Society was held at the Esplanade Hotel, Berlin, under the chairmanship of Monsignor Dr. Paul M. Baumgarten. Dr. G. Flügge, President of the Senate, and Professor Kuno Meyer were unanimously elected on the board of directors for the current year. In July Dr. Chatterton-Hill resigned as general secretary and Mrs. Agatha Bullit Grabisch was appointed pro tem in his place.

A branch of the German Irish Society was also founded in Hamburg through the influence of Ferdinand Hansen, which actively supported the cause of Irish freedom. Several of Hamburg's leading merchants became interested in the work of the

organisation, whose officers included Paul Guenther, Martin March, Consul E. Meyer-Glitza and Paul Hildebrandt.

*The Pleasant Relations Between Ireland and Germany Since
the War*

THE sympathetic and friendly relations formed during the tragic period of the war have grown steadily since the Peace. Ireland was the first country to extend the hand of fellowship to the Germans after the infamous pact of Versailles was imposed upon them. They were at once made welcome in my native land, while for several years in other countries they were merely tolerated. The German steamship lines which under British rule were prohibited from stopping in Ireland's harbors were immediately invited by the new Free State Government to make Cobh a port of call, and the well-known Limerick steamship company, whose steamers traverse the seven seas, became the Irish agents for the North German Lloyd.

For the first time in history a German Consul-General was accredited to Ireland, who appeared in Dublin in the person of Herr von Dehn, a distinguished member of the German Foreign Service. This official by his tact and interest in all things Irish has not only won the confidence of the ministers of the Free State but a large measure of popularity among the Irish people.

The Free State government has recently appointed an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin, and the promotion of Consul-General von Dehn to a similar post in Dublin has been already announced.

Some years ago the great German firm Siemens-Schuckert received the contract from the Irish government for the electrization of the River Shannon despite the bitter opposition of the English electric companies. Since the commencement of this great undertaking, which involved an outlay of some forty million dollars, there has been considerable intercourse between Germany and Ireland. During the progress of the work some sixty German engineers and five hundred skilled German mechanics were employed, who worked shoulder to shoulder with a similar number of Irish engineers and three thousand Irish

workmen. As I write, this gigantic contract is finished and Ireland is at last independent of English coal.

In concluding this article I cannot too strongly emphasize the international importance of the German-Irish transatlantic flight. The triumphant arrival of Koehl, Huenefeld and Fitzmaurice thrilled the world. Above all, their conquest of the air, over insurmountable dangers and difficulties, revived and renewed the cultural and spiritual traditions of both races which go far back into the dawn of history. Before starting on the ever-memorable flight Baron von Huenefeld issued the following message to the Irish people:

MAY God, in whose omnipotent hand we have pledged the success of our enterprise, fulfil for this island and its people, with their inspiring history, our grateful prayer for a happy future. Leaving the Free State, Captain Koehl and I wish to give expression to the deep and sincere gratitude which we both feel.

We have found here both counsel and active help. More than that, we have found complete human understanding and great sympathy on the part of all the civil and military authorities, as well as among the Irish people themselves, so that we count it a most unusual pleasure and honor to start our flight, together with the commandant of the Irish Air Force, whose officers, subalterns and privates have aided our preparations with exemplary comradeship.

Let me express the hope that this holy union of Teuton and Celt, sanctified by such a glorious achievement, will always endure for the glory of both nations, the peace of the world and the good of mankind.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST PEACE CONFERENCE (1917) AND THE IRISH QUESTION

EARLY in June, 1917, Dr. Chatterton-Hill and I discussed the advisability of presenting the Irish question before the International Socialistic Peace Conference which had been summoned to meet in Stockholm. As we were both enemy foreigners we decided to inquire at the Foreign Office in Berlin if there would be any difficulty about our receiving permission to cross the frontier and return again to Germany. We were immediately informed that the Imperial Government would interpose no objection and that instructions would be sent to the frontier which would assure us of every courtesy on our journey. I may here state that during our visit to the Foreign Office not the slightest suggestion was made regarding our opinions on the subject of peace, nor were we asked or was it expected that we should adopt any policy favorable to the German point of view on that subject. In the many conversations I had with prominent officials of the Imperial Government during the war there was never the least hint conveyed to me that I should serve German interests or take any political course that was inconsistent with the honor of a loyal American.

It is appropriate that I should recall at this time to the minds of my readers the yearning which prevailed amongst the peoples of the warring nations to put an end to the appalling bloodshed and destruction which was imperiling civilization. As has since been proved by the diplomatic records, the Central Powers were always ready and even anxious to open negotiations a few

months after the outbreak of the war for a just and honorable peace. The Allies, however, were against peace and made no disguise of their attitude. Any discussion of the subject in the press or in public meetings in their several countries was ruthlessly suppressed and the pacifist leaders were attacked or were cast into prison. On December 15, 1916, the Russian Foreign Minister replying in the Duma to the peace offer addressed three days before by the Central Powers to the Entente said: "During the two and one-half years that the war has lasted Germany has often spoken of peace. . . . All her efforts met with the calm and resolute resistance of the Allied Powers." All reputable historians now admit that the responsibility for the prolongation of the struggle cannot be charged up against Germany. Our own government, under Wilson's influence, supported by Wall Street and the munition interests did not encourage any movement which might lead to peace. Even before we openly joined the Entente, a peace gesture emanating from Europe was regarded with indignation by our press and the bankers and brokers who were making vast profits from the carnage and financial ruin of the Old World.

As an evidence of the attitude of mind held by some authoritative Americans on Germany's wish for peace, I may quote the following characteristic utterances:

I BELIEVE the German proposal was made with the hope of persuading the people of other belligerent nations, who may be weary of the war and eager for peace, to bring pressure upon their governments for a settlement by negotiation and not by the sword.

FRANK H. SIMONS,
in *World's Work* for January, 1917.

GERMANY is obviously anxious to end this war, and to this end she will encourage and praise her dupes on this side of the water in the movement for a league to enforce peace.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
in *Metropolitan Magazine* for February, 1917.

And ex-President Taft, who had openly "Thanked God" when Wilson declared war, in commenting on the German peace note expressed his unctuous satisfaction that "the desire for a just peace to which Germany had responded with wonderful emphasis had been rejected by the Allies."

Peace Opportunities Refused by Wilson

WITHOUT considering the peace resolution of the Reichstag it was in the power of President Wilson on three other occasions to bring peace to Europe and put an end to the hideous slaughter of mankind. If early in the war he had placed an embargo on the export of munitions and clearly indicated to the English government that America would break off relations if it continued its lawless interference with neutral trade, the war would have ceased in six months without his being compelled to fire a shot. But the dictator's loyalty to England was greater than his zeal for international law and the peace of the world. He wished the war to continue at all costs so that Anglo-American capitalistic imperialism, by triumphing over Germany, might dominate the world.

Wilson's second opportunity occurred at the time of the Pope's peace message to the Powers which afforded him a platform for a just and abiding peace. Instead of supporting the Holy Father in his earnest endeavor to restore humanity to reason, he responded in a tone of insolence and hypocrisy which was an affront to the august sovereign of the Catholic world.

The dictator had a third opportunity to establish peace in Europe at the time the Russian revolutionary government invited the powers to negotiate on the principle of "No indemnities and no annexations." Under the influence of the British Ministry, Wilson ignored this message and devoted all his energies and vicious talents to bring our beloved country into the war so that England might be saved from her well-merited fate.

But the most serious charge made against Wilson is that he suppressed the following urgent appeal sent to Secretary of State Bryan by Ambassador Herrick from Paris previous to the Austrian declaration of war on Servia.

July 28, 1914, 4 P.M.

SECRETARY OF STATE, Washington.

Confidential—To be communicated to the President.

Situation in Europe is regarded here as the gravest in history. It is apprehended that civilization is threatened by demoralization, which would follow a general conflagration. Demonstration made against war here last night by laboring classes; it is said to be the first instance of its kind in France.

It is felt that if Germany once mobilizes, no backward step will be taken. France has strong reliance on her army, but is not giving way to undue excitement. There is a faith and reliance on our high ideals and purposes so that I believe an expression from our nation would have great weight in this crisis. My opinion is encouraged at reception given utterances of British Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I believe that a strong plea for delay and moderation from the President of the United States would meet with the respect and approval of Europe and urge the prompt consideration of this question. This suggestion is consistent with our plea for arbitration treaties and attitude toward world affairs generally. I would not appear officious, but deem it my duty to make this expression to you.

HERRICK.

There is no question that Bryan, whose pacifist views were well known, at once transmitted this highly important message to the President who completely ignored it. Wilson subsequently stated to Herrick that he had never seen the document. This audacious falsehood is on a par with Wilson's denial before the United States Foreign Relations Committee that he had not read or heard of the notorious secret treaties until after his arrival in Paris. Is it any wonder that millions of human beings, living and dead, have anathematized the name of Wilson for his failure to prevent the war and for his share in the crime of prolonging it? It is natural therefore that the Entente and Wilson viewed with small favor the proposed International Peace Conference in Stockholm. It was immediately announced that delegates from America and the allied countries would not be given passports which, of course, would prevent them from traveling to Sweden. The Central Powers, who had nothing to fear from a Peace Conference, at once granted passports to their subjects, even to delegates who had voted against the war credits in the German Reichstag.

As the Stockholm Peace Conference has been rather overlooked by war historians, I will discuss that assembly at greater length, particularly the attitude of its leading members on the Irish question in which I was primarily interested.

The Difficulty in Calling a Meeting

THE executive committee of the International Socialistic Party is compelled by its constitution to call a meeting once a year.

Even during the war there was no indisposition on the part of the committee to comply with the rule nor was there shown any unwillingness on the part of some countries to send delegates to such a gathering. Yet the efforts failed owing to the opposition of the English, French and Belgian socialists who refused to confer with their German brethren.

The English and French had at first declared their acquiescence in the principle of a conference, but in 1916 the English Labor Party took an opposite course when the Union of French socialists under government pressure refused to send delegates.

Under such circumstances a meeting of the International would have dwindled down to an assembly of the Central Powers' socialistic party and their sympathizers, which would have been joined by a few neutrals and Russians. However, the American socialists would not give up hope, and it was really owing to their urgency that a comprehensive preparatory work was set on foot which culminated in what was called the Stockholm Conference.

In the middle of December, 1916, when Bukarest had surrendered and the well-known peace proposal of the Central Powers had been published, American socialists believed that the psychological moment had arrived in which to stir up the energies of the International Party, and for this purpose they addressed an ultimatum to the committee then in session at The Hague in which they called upon it to summon a meeting in March, 1917. In case of non-compliance with their request they proposed to take the initiative and issue a call for a conference. The prestige of the International was by this action placed in jeopardy and Camille Huysmanns, Secretary of the International Socialistic Union, determined to move at once. He felt confident that the great mass of people were so heartily sick of the war as to create sufficiently favorable conditions for its accomplishment. His activity was all the more necessary and well timed, as the political situation had meanwhile considerably changed owing to the unrestricted German submarine war at the beginning of February of the same year, which would make it difficult for Americans to take any further part in the peace movement.

Huysmanns' correspondence with France became more ac-

tive, without, however, producing any beneficial result, until in the month of March the overthrow of Czarism took place and revolutionized the mode of thought of almost the whole world.

New Executive Committee Appointed

THE committee being composed of Belgians and Belgium being occupied by the Germans, Emile Vandervelde, the chairman of the International, found himself separated from his colleagues, and it was impossible for him to keep up correspondence or hold intercourse with them. For these reasons it had already been agreed some time before to elect a new executive committee that should reside at The Hague to be composed of three Dutchmen, Dr. Troelstra, M. P. Senator van Kohl, and Albarda, the Secretary of the parliamentary section. This Dutch delegation now made an earnest attempt to bring about a conference choosing Stockholm for the proposed assembly.

Selecting a Meeting Place

THERE were two important reasons for the choice of the Swedish capitol. In the first place it afforded better facilities for co-operation with Scandinavian socialists who had been in active communication with their Russian colleagues and secondly there were geographical considerations. All parties of the Entente were anxious to send delegates to Russia for the purpose of currying favor with the new government, and the committee wisely remembered that the road to Petrograd passed through Stockholm.

Huysmanns, Troelstra and van Kohl immediately commenced negotiations with Branting, the leader of the Swedish socialists, Bergbjerg, a deputy of the Copenhagen parliament and leader of his party, the Danish Minister, Stauning, and Jakob Vidnaes, a Norwegian delegate. With the help of Nina Bang of the socialist party, Möller, a Swede, and Secretary Engberg, landsgatan 14) and they opened their headquarters and committee. There was placed at their disposal an apartment (Uplandsgatan 14) and they opened their headquarters and commenced work, though at first without knowing exactly what method to pursue in so great a task.

At Easter Branting, who was an avowed enemy of Germany, had still opposed the idea of a general conference. However, after the revolution broke out in Russia he had gone to St. Petersburg and he returned to Stockholm in a changed condition of mind. It was alleged that Branting's excursion to St. Petersburg was at the instance and in the interest of the Entente and for that reason he was subjected to severe criticism in an influential section of the Swedish press.

Difficulties Continue to Arise

THE calling of the International Conference by Camille Huysmanns came as a blow to the Entente. Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian, who had not been consulted in the matter, opposed the new committee in the most violent way, denying it any right of acting in the name of the thirty-three sections of the socialist party and calling Huysmann "a disloyal Belgian." The latter answered boldly that he was the secretary to the International, but not to Vandervelde, and justified his conduct on technical grounds, saying that it had been impossible to communicate with Vandervelde, the latter being at the time in Belgium.

From this time forward the Dutch-Scandinavian committee found itself compromised in the eyes of the Entente. As the prospects of holding the conference improved the hostility of the allied governments became more emphatic. Stockholm began to be called a "German trap," the committee was accused of being bribed by German gold and Troelstra, Stauning, and Bergbjerg were insultingly called "adherents of the Imperial German socialists."

In spite of these circumstances the Dutch-Scandinavian committee did not allow itself to be deterred from its work and issued the following resolution: "We summon a general socialist conference. Even suppose it should fail, we intend remaining at Stockholm as a permanent institution, a permanent forum for all the nations willing to enter into communication with each other, and a permanent central agency for the socialist parties of the whole world."

A Peculiar Arrangement for the Meeting Finally Evolved

However, the committee's efforts to get the different elements to attend the conference met at first with considerable obstacles. At the beginning all the Entente governments refused to issue passports to the delegates; on the other hand, telegraph and postal communication between Sweden and the countries at war were interrupted, and finally the Entente socialists under government influence obstinately stuck to their unconciliatory point of view. At last, however, a considerable advance was made by an understanding which was arrived at to allow the delegates of some of the countries at war to travel to Stockholm separately, where the committee was to confer with them one by one. It was hoped that it might be possible in this way to bring about some future agreement.

This plan of action was approved of and in the following spring parties of socialists from all parts of the world made their way to Stockholm; there came Austrians, Italians, Croatians, Czechs, Bulgarians, Finlanders, Hungarians, Turks, Germans of the majority and minority parties, natives of Ireland, Flanders, Georgia, Ukraine, Persia and India. There were also representatives of the United States of America, Jews and Tartars.

The Central Powers and their allies, as I have previously said, never interposed any difficulty in the matter of giving passports to their subjects who wished to attend the conference. The independent socialists, the most violent opponents of the German government and the war, were treated with the same consideration as the majority party and appeared in Stockholm to the astonishment of everybody. Furthermore the Imperial government permitted some enemy socialists to travel from Switzerland through Germany in order to be present. The liberal and democratic action on the part of the German government presented an awkward situation for the Allies who could only meet it by accusing all the delegates of being spies and agents of the Kaiser.

Bergbjerg's Trip to Russia Causes Trouble

AT the beginning of May, 1917, a significant event took place which produced important results.

Bergbjerg, the editor of the *Social Democrat*, Copenhagen, who had been in active communication with German socialists during the war, expressed the intention of going to St. Petersburg in order, as he said, to get information as to the state of affairs in Russia from a journalistic point of view. However, in Haparanda the English officials who had usurped the functions of the Russians there, refused him permission to cross the frontier. After two weeks' delay he was only allowed to proceed to St. Petersburg at Branting's request and the intervention of Nekljudow, who was the Russian Envoy in Stockholm. On his arrival in St. Petersburg he entered into negotiations with Skobelew, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with Tscheidse and later on with Kerenski and the Military and Labour Council. On May 6, at a meeting of the latter, he made a remarkable speech in which he developed the peace program of the German parliamentary majority.

This program advocated, as will be remembered, the right of self-government and self-determination of all the different nations, peace without annexations or indemnity, and even concessions with regard to the Elsass-Lothringen question, more or less on the same basis as the agreement entered into in 1913 by the party session which had met with the approval of Jaures. Having been in communication with the German socialists of every shade of opinion and having taken counsel with Scheidemann, Ebert and Bauer, as well as with the leaders of the trade unions, Bergbjerg thought he was fully acquainted with the opinions of these circles. Without having been entrusted with any special mandate, he therefore considered himself called upon to make the German point of view clear to the Russian socialists who had been cut off from the rest of the world before the revolution. Shortly before this event, Miljukow, driven into a corner, had declared himself willing to abandon his imperialistic policy.

The Military and Labour Council in Petrograd highly approved of this peace program which was debated for several days. On May 8, when Bergbjerg was on the point of starting for Sweden on his return journey, a deputation of the Council expressed to him its unanimous thanks and transmitted to him their official answer, approving of the project of holding an

international conference in a neutral country. The publication of this resolution created the greatest surprise and even caused dismay in Stockholm, Branting being particularly indignant. Up till then he had apparently kept the leadership in his own hands, but there was now danger of it slipping away from him. In his Stockholm paper *Social Democrat* he attacked Bergbjerg violently and reproached him with having concealed from him that he was going to Russia with a German peace offer in his pocket. About this time Vandervelde arrived also in Stockholm. He was also deeply hurt at the idea of the undertaking making progress without his knowledge and consent and very angry about other brains and hands than his own taking the leading part. Vandervelde's hostility to Germany was greater than his love of peace or the International and he would have sacrificed the interests of his own country, Belgium, rather than confer with the German socialists. Branting was animated by a similar spirit.

However, there was no undoing Bergbjerg's work. After violent controversies Branting, Bergbjerg, Huysmanns and Vandervelde became reconciled and passed their time in long sessions held behind closed doors. But there were still other reasons for the dismay caused in Stockholm.

The Military and Labour Council having declared in favor of an International Conference, raised the question as to who was really to carry through the general peace meeting and in which neutral country it was to be held.

Entente forces were at work meanwhile enfeebling or discrediting the original idea, all the more so as a third conference was to be held in Stockholm on May 31, namely, that of the Zimmerwalder party. It was decided, therefore, that the whole socialistic party should unite and work in one and the same bureau. This fusion presented great advantages to both sides, the Russians thus securing the organizing and administrative talents and the experience of the Dutch-Scandinavian committee, whereas the committee itself by its union with a party of the Entente, escaped the odium of being called mere satellites of the German Emperor.

While these events were transpiring, the regular work of the committee made progress. It consisted of the delegates of the

different countries being handed an inquiry sheet with the request to fill it out. There were discussions of the several points, questions being asked and answered about minor details, efforts made to do away with misunderstandings, to clear up doubtful points and soften the asperities of antagonistic opinions. Those meetings were generally presided over by Troelstra or in his absence by Vliegen. At the meetings attended by partisans of the Entente, Branting took the chair.

Dr. Hill and I Decide to Go to Stockholm

AFTER conferring with Dr. Chatterton-Hill we decided to leave for Stockholm about the middle of June, 1917, and meanwhile I suggested that a memorandum dealing with the Irish question should be prepared for the delegates. Dr. Hill wrote the memorandum in the French language and an accompanying letter addressed to the Military and Labour Council in Petrograd. These documents were translated into German and Russian and one thousand were circulated in Russia and the greater part of two thousand were mailed to important persons in Scandinavia and other neutral countries. Every delegate and every important visitor to the conference was of course also supplied with a copy.

The English text of the accompanying letter read as follows:

THE FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM (NEW YORK)

Stockholm Bureau

Artillerigatan 28 B, Stockholm, July 21, 1917.

To the Labour and Military Council, Petrograd:

Gentlemen:

In its invitation to all sections of the "International Socialist Union" to meet at Stockholm on August 15 for the purpose of laying the foundations of the much-longed-for future peace, the Russian Military and Labour Council has eloquently formulated the fundamental principle which, according to its opinion, would be likely to conduce to a lasting peace. Founded on justice and equity this fundamental principle is nothing else but the right of each nation to self-government.

The mere fact of such a principle having been established is surely calculated to inspire with satisfaction the various nations who,

as the victims of imperialistic tendencies and the ambitions of powerful empires, have found themselves incorporated into them by force and against their wish, and have thus been deprived of their legitimate rights and hindered in the development of their own civilization. Among the peoples we have alluded to who are groaning under a foreign yoke and aspiring to freedom are the Irish. No other people have a clearer or more incontestable right to self-government. A highly cultured nation, whose civilization dates back to ancient antiquity, Ireland rendered Europe unforgettable services in the domain of Christian thought and literature. Never have any people groaned under a more unjust and cruel fate than the Irish.

The conquest of Ireland by the English was completed toward the middle of the seventeenth century, after one hundred and fifty years of pitiless warfare. English historians, such as Bryce, Lecky, and Froude, have described in detail the sufferings of the Irish since that time. The present memorandum is meant to give a short sketch of the terrible hardships the country had to submit to, and furnish proofs of Ireland's right to become a Republic. It was with great enthusiasm that the Irish people received the news that Russia had inscribed on its peace-program the right of all nations to decide their own destinies. Ireland cannot but feel that the moment has arrived when liberty, for which millions of her sons have cheerfully laid down their lives during the course of the last centuries, is now to be its own. With full and entire confidence the Irish nation trusts in revolutionary Russia, the champion of national rights, which after heroic struggles and indescribable sufferings has, at last, obtained its liberty. After having for centuries endured countless hardships and been the victims of empires athirst for conquest both the Russian and the Irish nation rejoice in the victory against their common enemy, Imperialism.

It is hardly probable that any Irish delegates will attend the International Conference at Stockholm. It is true the Irish Labour Syndicates have asked permission to be represented there, but there is little hope of the English government granting their most legitimate request; nor, do we believe that the United States government will give a safe-conduct to the representatives of the Irish Political Unions in America—though there are twenty millions of Irish blood living in the states, the descendants of the unfortunate people whom famine obliged to leave the most fertile country of Europe.

Under these conditions there is great danger that Ireland's voice may not be heard at Stockholm, and it is because of this as well as on account of the duty they owe to their country, that the undersigned address themselves to the Labour and Military Council.

One of them, T. St. John Gaffney, an American citizen and member of the Friends of Irish Freedom, is at the present moment the representative of that Society of Europe. It is an association founded by the National Congress of American-Irish which met in New York on March 5 and 6, 1916. The principal aim of the Society is to defend

Irish interests in view of the future peace conference and to take all necessary measures to represent the rights of the Irish nation when Europe is re-organized—an event which is sure to follow the present war. The undersigned request the Russian Labour and Military Party, in case no Irish delegates should be present at the International Conference at Stockholm, to act as advocates for the Irish nation and their rights. They request the Council to inscribe the Irish question on its program and bring it forward for discussion at the conference. They further call upon the Council to support the demands of Ireland and to put forward the Irish question in such a way as to vindicate its general interest for the whole world.

There cannot be any doubt, whatever, about Ireland's just claims. The latter were formulated—by the National Congress of the American Irish, who met at New York, on March 5 and 6, 1916; by the Provisionary Government of the Irish Republic in its manifesto of April 24, 1916; and by the Conference of delegates at the Dublin Town Hall on April 19, 1917.

The results of the three county elections which have taken place since last year's rising (in North Roscommon on February 3, 1917, in South Longford on May 9, 1917, in East Clare on July 8, 1917) are the best proof of the demands formulated on these occasions, being endorsed by a very large majority of the Irish people, each election having ended in a decisive victory of the candidate of the Irish Republican Party.

As a nation, Ireland claims the recognition of its rights, it desires to be represented at the future Peace Conference, and to decide its own fate by a plebiscite. It demands the internationalization of the Irish question and protests against England's attempt to represent this question to be a matter of interior politics. Never did Ireland recognize the legality of its dominion by England, nor did it become part of the British Empire voluntarily or of its own accord. On the contrary, for centuries, it has been fighting for its national independence.

Revolutionary Russia having inscribed on its program the right of all nations to self-government cannot refuse such elementary justice to Ireland.

Revolutionary Russia, whilst trying to secure to humanity the benefits of a lasting peace, cannot but support the only solution of the Irish question which answers to the wishes of a very large majority of the Irish. Any other way out of the dilemma would but perpetuate the hatred and warfare between Ireland and British Imperialism.

May the Peace Congress, after having listened to the Irish delegates, grant to Ireland the right of shaping its own fate by a plebiscite. Such a decision would clearly show the wishes and desires of the majority of the Irish people.

This majority will be quite ready to grant to the minority of

the people all possible guarantees with regard to their complete religious, economic, and political liberty.

The undersigned know for certain that they are giving utterance to the conviction of twenty million Irish in the world when they again express their own conviction that Revolutionary Russia, having obtained liberty for itself, will not refuse to lend its powerful and generous help to Ireland which is fighting for the same democratic principle, namely, *the right of every nation to self-government.*

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY,
Former American Consul-General.

GEORGE CHATTERTON-HILL, . .
(*Docteur-ès sciences sociales*)
(*Formerly Privatdozent at the Geneva University*).

CHAPTER XX
OUR ARRIVAL IN STOCKHOLM

SHORTLY after Dr. Chatterton-Hill and I arrived in Stockholm in June, 1917, we opened a bureau of the "Friends of Irish Freedom of New York" and then hastened to make appointments with the members of the permanent socialist committee who were then in session. We first called on Camille Huysmanns, the General Secretary of the International, who received us with courtesy and attention while we explained our mission to him. He asked us if we were socialists and upon our replying in the negative he stated that none but socialist delegates could have official standing at the Conference. He also inquired if we had been authorized by the Irish in America or Ireland to present their cause. We replied that it was impossible for us, owing to the British and American censorship, to communicate with our friends and that we had no official mandate. Knowing the friendly relations which existed between Huysmanns and the British and American Legations, we asked him if he would request the ministers to transmit cables to our friends for the purpose required. He replied that President Wilson had affronted the committee by not answering a communication in regard to the passport question which had been officially sent to him by the International, and for that reason no further favor would be asked from the American government or its representatives. He recalled to us that upon the order of President Wilson the American socialist delegates, including Morris Hillquit,* were refused passports to travel to Stockholm.

* As a protest against Wilson's action in the matter of Hillquit's passport, the socialist party nominated him for mayor of New York the

The British government had also declined to grant passes to the English delegates and that fact would undoubtedly subject the committee to another rebuff if they were to address an appeal in our case. He added, however, that if no delegates arrived from Ireland he would favor the International recognizing us and giving us a hearing. He also stated that our memorandum would be read before the conference and receive due consideration, and for that purpose we delivered to him a number of copies.

A Bit About Samuel Gompers at This Time

DURING our stay in Stockholm we had several other interviews with Huysmanns. While as a Belgian he did not attempt to disguise his anti-German prejudice, he did not manifest any friendly feeling for England—quite the contrary. I judged that he shared our view as to the hypocrisy and criminality of that power and her responsibility for the fate of his country. He was also not very flattering in his judgment of America's attitude in the war and particularly expressed contempt for Gompers and the rôle he was playing. He read to me letters from Gompers which showed his character in a double-dealing light.

All biographies of Gompers, including the sketch written by himself for *Who's Who*, mention London as his birthplace, and King George in a speech to an American labor delegation at Buckingham Palace referred "with pride" to the fact that Gompers was born in London. In his public utterances and political attitude Gompers always posed as an Anglo-Saxon. It is believed, however, that the man was born in Holland, the offspring of a low class Jewish family by the name of Gomperz, who settled in White Chapel, London, when Gompers was a small child. Huysmanns remarked to me in this connection, "Gompers thought it would give him a better standing in the United States if he belonged to the great Anglo-Saxon race."

Gompers and a few of his henchmen came to Europe in September following November. He polled 142,000 votes, running behind the war candidate, Mitchel, by only 7,000 votes. This election was a stinging rebuke for Wilson.

tember, 1918, and were received by King George, Poincaré, King Albert and King Victor Emanuel. His speeches and performances evoked the ridicule of the decent elements of the labor party in the allied countries, and in England and France, particularly, his conduct was severely criticized.

The London correspondent of the neutral *St. Gall Tageblatt* devoted the following paragraph to the activity of Gompers at the Labor Conference in England:

THERE was no evidence at this conference of a united front and the appearance of Gompers gave frequent ground for opposition and criticism. The delegates recognized in his attitude an attempt to dictate to the English working classes and to exhibit his party in America as an example for them to copy. Particularly his fanatical hostility to Germany and his one-sidedness in all war-questions created decided opposition. Amongst his hearers he conveyed the impression that he was an *agent of the war profiteers*. In many circles of the labor party it is evident that *Gompers is not regarded seriously*.

How We Were Received by Branting

SOME time later we called by appointment on Branting who was recognized as the representative of the allies on the International committee and who was its chairman. He listened attentively to our statement of the Irish question and displayed sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people. He was, however, a little suspicious of us for the reason that we came from Germany and he expressed the view that we were compromising a good cause by persisting in living under the yoke of "Prussian militarism." This observation afforded me an opportunity of frankly expressing my opinions as to the political conditions in Germany and the advantages of living in that country notwithstanding the difficulties attendant on the war. I declared that there was more personal liberty and greater freedom of opinion allowed in Germany than in the allied countries. Branting listened to me with impatience and when I had concluded he made the remark: "Yes, I have heard other Irishmen advance the same opinion." In order to prevent my giving him a proper retort, Dr. Chatterton-Hill broke rapidly into French and directed the conversation in another channel. We left the leader of the Swedish Socialist Party with the conviction that he was

irretrievably committed to the allies and unreasonably prejudiced against the Central Powers. We were convinced that the cause of peace would be imperiled rather than aided by his advocacy.

We Found Dr. Troelstra Sympathetic to the Cause of Ireland

WE next called on Dr. Troelstra, who in my judgment was one of the most intelligent and also the fairest member of the International. I had several interviews with him during which we discussed at length the Irish situation, Dr. Troelstra showing the greatest sympathy with the cause of Irish freedom and indignation at the misrule to which that country had been subjected by the English. I gave him a copy of the last volume of political essays by Sir Roger Casement which also contained his letter to Sir Edward Grey, his speech after conviction, and other material that Troelstra had not read. Some days later Dr. Troelstra told me that the book should be a standard work in schools for the purpose of teaching the spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism to the youth of all nations. He was particularly incensed against the cowardly and hypocritical attitude of the allied governments towards the peace conference. In discussing the subject he spoke substantially to the following effect: that it was very peculiar that the so-called militarist governments of the Central Powers adopted a friendly attitude towards the conference while the democratic governments of the allies took a hostile attitude, and yet the Allied Powers claimed to be the champions of liberty and democracy.

Of course this did not mean, he said, that the Central Powers are really liberty-loving and their adversaries disguised autocrats, but we may learn therefrom that not all watchwords are to be regarded as genuine and that the parties should not be judged according to fine phrases alone with which each tries to represent its cause as that of "culture," of the "right" of "liberty" and "democracy." Thus Germany wants peace through an understanding—the Entente through a continuation of the military and economical war.

As the German Reichstag had already declared that it did not take the state of the war map as the measure of its demands, the evacuation of the occupied territories may thus be obtained

without another shot. Germany is satisfied if the status quo ante, the condition before the war, is restored. The Allies, however, do not see their war aims realized in a result of that kind. They propose a program which calls for a complete reversal of the situation created by the war. They constitute themselves arbiters over existing national aspirations of the various peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; they want to wrest from Germany part of its Rhine territory, to give Luxemburg to Belgium, strengthen England's influence in Arabia and Mesopotamia, etc. Even in the Stockholm demands of the English Labor Party, we find these purely imperialistic desires laid down in the Allies' reply to Wilson. The dissolution and annihilation of Turkey, Italy's claims to the Tyrol and in the Adriatic are expressed in a manner such as only a beaten state could put up with. In general it is a fact today that the conditions of peace expressed by the Allies thus far can be realized only after a complete defeat of the Central Powers, whose political and economical breaking up it would signify. So much for the views of Dr. Troelstra.

Nicolas Roussanof, a Delegate from Petrograd, Approved of the Cause of Ireland

OF course we made it our business to see the delegates of special importance as they arrived in Stockholm for the Conference. We were also on cordial terms with the representatives of the India, Persia, Egypt and the Ukraine Nationalist Parties who had established bureaus in the Swedish capital. Quite a few Americans had succeeded in coming over before Wilson issued the order refusing passports, and later on a number of Russian-Americans, after many difficulties, arrived in Stockholm. These were furiously indignant at their treatment by the American authorities which they compared with the worst period of Czaristic rule. They also loudly complained of the insults and outrages to which they were subjected by the English officials at Halifax. It was amusing to hear these men discuss the "great democracies" America and England "who were fighting for freedom and the oppressed nations." They were under no illusion as to these governments and declared with emphasis that

they both represented the very worst form of capitalistic imperialism. There were several native Americans in Stockholm who held similar views. Some of the delegates of the Military and Labor Council of Petrograd were men of considerable attainments though of extreme radical views. We received many assurances of sympathy from them for the cause of Ireland. I recall an interview I had with Nicolas Roussanof, member of the committee of control of the socialistic revolutionary party and editor of the *L'oeuvre du peuple*. He astonished me by asking me if I was a Sinn Feiner and upon my replying in the affirmative he grasped me warmly by the hand and said, "So am I." He then told me that since its inception he had closely followed the Sinn Fein movement and was a deep sympathizer with its program. Before the outbreak of the war he had advocated a similar organization for Russia in a series of articles in his paper, but some of these had been suppressed and others modified by the Russian censor almost beyond recognition. "I am a friend of Ireland and Sinn Fein and will gladly enlist the support of my colleagues in the interest of your native land," was his hearty assurance to me.

Some Things We Secured by Our Work

As the result of our propaganda work numerous papers in Russia, Ukraine, Norway, Sweden and the Baltic Provinces printed extracts from our memorandum or published original articles dealing with the international importance of a settlement of the Irish question. More important than all, we succeeded in inducing the Conference to include the Irish question in its program for the future peace.

The Program Which Was Considered by the International Conference

As it is a matter of importance to be acquainted with the fundamental principles and chief points, the harmonious solution of which the socialists contended would bring about and secure the future peace of the world, it will be interesting to know the following program that was considered.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

I. GENERAL outlines for the conclusions of peace.

The right of self-government of the different nations and the autonomy of the different nationalities; annexations; war compensations; restorative measures.

II. Those principles applied to concrete cases.

- a. Belgium, Serbia, other Balkan states, Poland, Finland, Elsass-Lothringen, Northern Schleswig, Armenia,
- b. Lithuania, the Ukraine, Czechs, Jews, natives of Flanders, Ireland, Persia, Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, Malta, etc.,
- c. The colonies.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS

- I. Decisions based on international laws; international arbitration courts; obligatory inquiry in cases of conflict; other means to preserve peace, such as the "League to enforce peace"; sanctions; coercive measures.
- II. Disarmament, freedom of the seas.
- III. Means of satisfying legitimate aspirations and economic expansion without giving the right to an increase of territory. (Internationalization or neutralization of international means of transport, such as straits, canals, principal railway lines, etc.) Free trade; an open door for the colonies.
- IV. Doing away with secret diplomacy, and the influence of parliaments on foreign politics.

It will be observed that this program is in line with the fourteen points which almost a year after were promulgated to the world as the original thought of the American president.

Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist Minister, Refuses to Meet Us

DURING our stay in Stockholm, Vandervelde, the Belgian socialist minister who had been in Russia, made a visit to the city and occupied an apartment in our hotel, so we decided to call upon him. We sent up our cards one morning and word was brought to us that Vandervelde was occupied, but that if we returned about four o'clock in the afternoon he would be glad to see us. At the time mentioned we again sent our cards to Vandervelde which were returned with the uncivil message that he was too busy to see us. We subsequently learned that the British minister had paid a long call on the Belgian socialist

during the forenoon and Vandervelde disclosed to a friend that it was owing to a warning from this source that he declined our visit. This was the only impoliteness we met with from a member of the International. My colleague, Dr. Chatterton-Hill, discussed the incident in the following interview which appeared in the *Aftonbladet* and was widely copied.

Svenske Dagbladet, 6 July, 1917.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE IN A NEW LIGHT

THE IRISH ENVOYS QUESTION ITS STRICT NEUTRALITY

SOME time ago, as stated in the press, two representatives of the Irish national movement, former Consul-General St. John Gaffney and Dr. Georges Chatterton-Hill, arrived in Stockholm. They announced their object to be, in the first place, spreading knowledge in Scandinavia about the Irish situation, and secondly, to secure recognition for Ireland in the coming international Socialist Peace Conference.

In an interview with a member of the staff of the *Svenske Dagbladet*, Dr. Chatterton-Hill expounded his views about English imperialism and its responsibility for the war. He also expressed the hope that the Socialist Peace Conference would prominently feature the question of Irish freedom in its program, for which end the two gentlemen had approached the chief members of the Dutch Scandinavian committee.

Judging from our interview, it would appear as though the mission of the Irish envoys had met with some difficulties. They claim that the socialistic committee has manifested great zeal in the interest of these nations which are supposed to be oppressed by the Germans and their allies, for instance, the Bohemians, Poles, and Armenians, but very little concern in regard to Ireland, India or Egypt. If the International committee wished to inspire confidence in its task, the right way to act would be to adopt an impartial attitude and not openly favor one party as has been done. The Irish, they contend, have as much right to be represented in the peace conference as the Czechs and others to whom the conference has already opened its protecting arms.

The story of Vandervelde's mysterious journey to St. Petersburg a short time before the war broke out occupied the attention of Dr. Hill. It throws a certain light upon the intrigues that were at work before the commencement of hostilities.

"In the beginning of July, 1914," said Dr. Chatterton-Hill, "three weeks before the beginning of the crisis, Vandervelde visited Stockholm en route for the Russian capital. The Swedish social democrats, among others Branting and Professor J. Steffen, considered it very strange that the leader of the socialist international should travel

at that time to St. Petersburg. What mission could he have to fulfill with the government of the Czar and for what reason had it given permission to such an opponent of its system to enter Russia? The Czar's ministers were not accustomed to invite or receive visits from social democratic leaders. However it may be, Vandervelde, the leader of the International, departed in the beginning of July, 1914, on this much-discussed visit. In the Russian capital he had several conversations with Gorempkin, Sassanow and other ministers of the Czar, but on what subject has not been disclosed. A time later Poincaré and Viviani went to St. Petersburg and it will be remembered that the war broke out after the visit of the president of France. It is now also known that Nicholas II made a secret treaty with Poincaré by which Constantinople should be given over to Russia and that Elsass-Lothringen should be delivered to France. What compensation Mr. Vandervelde received for Belgium in these negotiations we have not full knowledge. It is only known that three weeks before the outbreak of the war Vandervelde had a certain reason to pay a visit to the government of the Czar.

The same Vandervelde, last president of the socialist international and a man, it would appear, in the confidence of the Czar's ministers, stopped again in Stockholm in June, 1917, and refused to receive St. John Gaffney and me. The reason assigned therefore by Vandervelde was that immediately before our visit he had been visited by the British minister who had not lost the occasion to warn him against us.

Vandervelde is a socialist and a Belgian. Neither as a socialist nor as a Belgian has he any reason to act as an enemy toward the Irish. In certain circles, however, there is a tendency to designate every person who has any kind of relation to Germany as a German agent. As soon as an Irishman, Persian, Indian, Finn or Egyptian appears they say in the neutral circles of the socialistic committee he is a German agent.

Professor Masaryk is a Czech. Personally I have respect for him for the reason that he believes that he is fighting for his country and his people as I and my colleagues are fighting for our country and people. That Professor Masaryk prefers to live in Paris, London or St. Petersburg rather than in Prague, is quite natural under such circumstances. Just for the same reason we prefer to live in Germany rather than in Ireland. Professor Masaryk's enemy is Germany and German-Austria and our enemy is England. Professor Masaryk, of course, tries to work together with the enemies of his country. We do the same. Our causes are perfectly analogous. Professor Masaryk seeks his refuge in London; we seek ours in Berlin or Munich.

The only difference lies therein that Masaryk fled to foreign countries only after the war broke out while St. John Gaffney and I have been living in Germany for a long time before the war. Our living in Germany, therefore, is not dependent on the war.

When Professor Masaryk goes to Stockholm, or any other neutral

city, no reasonable person ever dreams of calling him an English, French or Russian agent. On the contrary, he is received with open arms which is indeed proper, as he has made great sacrifices for his country. The position is the following: If you come from Paris, or London or Petrograd to a neutral country you are unimpeachable, you are a hero, an unselfish and noble-minded fighter for the holiest rights of humanity and the liberties of oppressed peoples. But if you come from Berlin or from Vienna you are at once a German agent and, from a moral point of view, a political outcast. If you object, saying that you also are fighting for an oppressed nation you receive the answer, 'This is a German maneuver.' It is a wonder that you are not accused of having a part in Miss Cavell's execution or of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Such a situation one calls neutrality in certain circles that make up the international conference. Huysmanns, after having given a friendly reception to St. John Gaffney and me, took occasion to warn some of the delegates as to the German agents that were moving about in Stockholm under pretext of working for oppressed nations. The same Camille Huysmanns never thought of calling Professor Masaryk an English or Russian agent. Why two measures and two weights? Is that neutrality?

Once for all this comedy must have an end. Under the pretext of working for peace the Dutch-Scandinavian committee appears to play the politics and economic interests of the Entente. The committee cares nothing for the peoples that are oppressed by English imperialism; it does not care to occupy its time with Ireland, India or Egypt. Its object seems to be to help as far as possible to crush one of the warring groups.

It is time to make an energetic protest against the comedy. It is time to repeat energetically that the socialist committee is by no means animated by the ambition to extend the right of independence to oppressed peoples; it will only use this principle where it can serve the interests of English imperialism.

Just as much as Professor Masaryk and Abbé Vetterlé are good patriots, we Irish are equally good and upright patriots. If Masaryk and Vetterlé have the right to put themselves on the side of the Entente, as they hope for the realization of their ambition by their victory, so have we the right to express our sympathy for the Central Powers, as their victory we believe will bring liberty to the Irish people. What is right for Masaryk and Vetterlé must also be accorded to us. If it is permitted them to stay in the countries of the Entente, why should we be denied living in Germany.

We respectfully ask Branting and Huysmanns for an answer.

Meanwhile, Ireland will continue the fight for its national rights and will not ask the Dutch-Scandinavian committee for permission. We protest in the most energetic manner against the imputation that St. John Gaffney and I, who are here solely fighting for Irish interests, are German agents.

We are sorry that Vandervelde, who is a university professor and famous as a logician, allows his conduct to be influenced by a foreign diplomat, the envoy of the country that is crushing the life-blood out of Ireland. In this instance the great free thinker has indeed not given evidence of his own free thought."

The Pope's Message of August, 1917

ON August 1, 1917, His Holiness Benedict XV addressed a moving appeal to the belligerent governments to end bloodshed on the basis of the status quo ante bellum. The Central Powers which at that time were at the plenitude of their power received the message of the Pontiff with sympathy and approval. But sufficient glory had not crowned the brow of the American war president, and peace to the distracted world was then not his goal. Under his instructions Lansing sent a reply to the Pope which was both stupid and impudent. As a sample of the bombast of phrases and empty bluster which featured this amazing document, I will quote one extract which in view of the actual facts of the case should arouse the derision of all sensible men. "The object of this war," wrote Lansing, "is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which having secretly planned to dominate the world proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the World."

I refuse to insult the intelligence of my readers by quoting further from this grotesque paper which reflects dishonor on American diplomacy and uncovers a vein of imbecility in its author. The diplomatic documents and other evidence which have been published by historians and statesmen during recent years in all countries convict Lansing of ignorance and psychopathic hysteria. Every allegation made by him in the above

quotation has been proved to be false, and his statements are no longer maintained by the most extreme apologists of the Entente. Lansing went to his grave in 1928 utterly discredited and will be only remembered in our history as one of the cheapest and most absurd figures which has occupied the post of Secretary of State.

Our Disappointment in the Pope's Message

MY colleague, Dr. Hill, and I were chagrined at the omission of all reference to Ireland in the Pontifical Peace note, so we issued the following protest which received wide publicity at the time in the neutral press. Naturally it was suppressed in the American and Entente newspapers.

ACKNOWLEDGING the lofty motive which inspired the Pope's note to the warring nations, we must, however, express the feelings of all nationalist Irishmen throughout the world in solemnly protesting against the absence of any reference towards Catholic Ireland in the peace appeal of his Holiness. Invoking with pride the love and fidelity which the Island of Saints throughout the centuries devoted to the church, recalling the tragic sufferings which the Irish people have endured under ruthless English tyranny during their heroic struggle for faith and Fatherland, we cannot too profoundly regret this extraordinary omission, particularly in view of the Holy Father's earnest anxiety to bring an enduring peace to the world. No peace can be lasting which does not free Ireland from the chains of slavery and recognize the national autonomy of her people.

By proclaiming the right of self-determination for all nations, the international socialist democracy has applied the axe to the root of the evil which is the cause of this war—Imperialism.

It is with great grief that the Irish people, who through all times were a bulwark of the Catholic religion, must now realize that the peace program of the social democrats is more in harmony with their national aspirations than that of the Holy Father, and that Ireland must now look with more hope of sympathy to Stockholm than to Rome. Ireland, the greatest victim of England's tyranny, has the deepest feeling for all peoples suffering under the heel of the oppressor. But Ireland in view of her sacrifices is justified in demanding that her plea should not be forgotten by the Pontiff when from his exalted place above all the nations he points out the way to a peace not built on brutal force but on right and justice.

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY
GEORGES CHATTERTON-HILL

August 28, 1917

CHAPTER XXI

THE AUTHOR'S EXPULSION FROM SWEDEN
REQUESTED BY LANSING

"Have you heard what started the present war? If you have I wish that you would publish it, because nobody else has. So far as I can gather nothing in particular started it, but everything in general."

PRESIDENT WILSON, Oct. 26, 1916

WHILE walking in the streets of Stockholm one day I was accosted by a newspaper correspondent who told me that Morris, the American Minister, had received instructions from our Government to take up my passport, and he warned me that if I was called to the Legation I should be careful not to bring that document with me, as the officials there would not hesitate at violence to deprive me of it. As I had no business at the Legation, I had no intention of answering any such summons, however, I thanked my friend for his advice. A few days afterwards I was called on the telephone in my hotel by the Secretary of the Legation who informed me that the Minister had an important message for me from Washington and requested me to call to see him. I answered that my time was very much occupied and that I was leaving the next day for Nosund on the West Coast and would be absent somewhat indefinitely as I was going on a yachting cruise. At this information the Secretary seemed very much disturbed and again repeated with considerable urgency the desire of his Excellency to speak with me before I left. I again declared that was impossible, so he begged me to report at the Legation upon my return.

After I had concluded my visit to the West Coast, I returned to Stockholm by way of the Gotha-Kanal. This trip was

most enjoyable, the accommodation on the steamer good and the food and attendance were excellent. The weather conditions were most agreeable, and the sail through the lakes, forests, highlands and lowlands, directly across Sweden was a most delightful experience. Upon my arrival in Stockholm I learned that there was small likelihood of the Conference being held for some weeks, so I decided to return home and await further developments.

Toward the latter part of August, the prospects seemed somewhat brighter and as the Irish and Irish-American socialists had been refused passports by Lloyd George and Wilson, I decided that the interests of our native land again required the presence of Dr. Chatterton-Hill and myself in Stockholm.

As Lloyd George began to realize that the idea of the Conference was making headway in England and France and that there was a grave possibility of its being held, he decided to destroy it by refusing passports to the English delegates. The truth is that this great "defender of liberty and democracy" was alarmed at the danger involved in the English, French and German socialists conferring together and he feared the unwholesome truths which might develop from such conversations. He therefore called the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that English subjects were forbidden by Statute to hold any communication with the enemy and also referred with indignation to the mere possibility of British workmen conferring with Emperor William's socialist subjects. It was this party in the Reichstag, he said, which ever since the commencement of the war had voted the funds necessary and also supported the war-loans. Lloyd George attempted a form of blackmail on the German socialists and sought to take advantage of their known anxiety for peace, to misinterpret their earnest desire to relieve humanity from the horrors of the war.

When the English and French labour parties stood by their own people, no German reproached them with their attitude, nor were they called "Poincaré socialists" or "King George socialists." The British Premier openly declared he would not allow Englishmen to come into touch with "lepers" and therefore he refused them passports. He had the delusion that by adopting such a course he would induce the social democrats in the

Reichstag to alter their policy. He was anxious to brand them before the world as an obstacle to peace and to create the impression that the Conference failed for the sole reason of it being unlawful for English socialists to come in contact with Germans who had not refrained from voting the funds for carrying on the war. He endeavored to make use of the German social democrats' desire for peace to induce their party to rise against their own government and thus enfeeble the power of their nation notwithstanding the dangers that threatened it. On such conditions they would be admitted to the Stockholm Conference by Lloyd George and his vassals. He would at once allow passports were he sure that the delegates of the British Labour Party would only confer with such Germans as would cause difficulty to their own government and charge it with responsibility for the war, and by such a confession make all the concessions required by him. The fact is, he only desired the British delegates to meet Messrs. Haase, Bernstein, Kautsky, Meyer and the other members of the independent Socialist Party who he knew were against the war and had voted against the war-loans. Upon my arrival in Stockholm I issued the following statement to the Swedish Press:

AFTER three years of bloodshed, it is certainly about time that the peoples of Europe should not permit themselves to be further sacrificed in the interest of the group of imperialistic criminals who are insisting upon the continuation of the war. The time for speeches and catch-word phrases *about Democracy and the rights of the smaller nations* is over, and the existing facts must be faced if we are ever to find a solution of the present appalling situation. The responsibility *for the continuation of this slaughter of mankind* will be decided without doubt by the Stockholm Conference, if it be held.

THE CHIEF CONSPIRATOR

The head and front of the conspiracy for the continuation of the war is England: and through her money and her power she is forcing her unfortunate Allies to bleed themselves to death for her selfish commercial greed. It is laughable to read of this vampire among the nations claiming to defend the rights of the smaller states; Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, the Boer-States and Greece raise their voices in indignant protest against such a fantastic pretension, while the cries and tears of millions of her unwilling subjects give judgment against her.

A few weeks ago Prof. John McNeil declared in a speech in

Dublin that "Ireland, during the last half century, had suffered ten times more from England than the occupied territories have endured from their conquerors during the present war."

Every election held in Ireland since the revolution of last year has been an endorsement of that uprising for liberty; and all the successful Candidates have been elected on a platform of "Away from England and an Irish Republic."

If the voice of India and Egypt could be heard, a similar verdict would be given upon English rule.

Over six months ago the Central Powers, anxious to avoid further effusion of blood, offered a peace to their enemies which would have been a basis for a fair and honorable settlement.

ENGLAND RESPONSIBLE

Through the influence of England this offer was refused with derision and contempt, and as a result those territories which would have been restored comparatively intact to France, Belgium and Russia have been subjected by the Allies to such devastation that generations will not make good the loss. An additional three millions of human beings have been killed or wounded during this period, and the actual condition of the war has not been changed to any important extent in favor of the Allies.

Who is responsible for the protraction of this terrible calamity? The answer is—*England!*

Germany is fighting a defensive war and has disavowed any thought of territorial aggrandizement at the expense of her enemies. The Allies however under England's influence have officially declared that they will not cease fighting until the Germanic Powers and Bulgaria and Turkey are practically divided up and destroyed. In furtherance of this program of cupidity and vengeance, England is willing to subject the occupied provinces of France, Belgium, Servia, Roumania and Russia to a further period of carnage and desolation, not to speak of the millions of additional lives that would be sacrificed.

England concerns herself very little about the devastation of the continent so long as her own country is free from the heel of the invader.

HONORABLE PEACE

The Central Powers have repeated their offer of an honorable peace which has been again repudiated by their enemies at the dictation of England. Lloyd George and his fellow-conspirators are so fearful of the approach of the day of peace that they have refused passports to the socialist delegates to attend the Stockholm Conference.

The so-called autocratic and military countries, Germany and Austria, without hesitation gave passports to the socialists to cross their borders while the "fighters" for democracy, England, Italy,

France, and, I regret to add, America, are afraid to allow their subjects to attend a neutral gathering in the interest of peace. Such an exhibition of moral cowardice is a further evidence of how little confidence they themselves have in the justice of their claims or the sincerity of their professions. This action of the allied governments should certainly remove the veil from the eyes of those who have declared that Germany is prolonging the war, and should prove to them that her wish for peace is honest, while the attitude of the Entente is nothing but arrant hypocrisy.

Some time after my arrival in Stockholm I was called on the telephone one afternoon by the United States Vice Consul (the Consul General was in America) and informed by him that my presence was required at the Consulate. I replied that I was too occupied to go there, but if he would come to my bureau I would receive him. He replied that he would call on me and shortly afterwards he was announced. Upon entering my room the Vice Consul, with whom I was acquainted and whose Chief was an old friend and colleague, expressed to me his profound regret at the mission he was compelled to discharge. He frankly admitted to me that he was embarrassed at being the medium through which such an instruction should be conveyed to one like myself who had occupied responsible and honorable posts in the consular service. He hoped that I would have no personal feelings against him as he was only carrying out his duty under orders from the government. He then explained to me that the Secretary of State Lansing had sent a dispatch to the Minister to find out if I was traveling on an American passport, and if so he was to obtain possession of it and notify the Swedish authorities that it was cancelled. I must here state that this passport was obtained by me in Washington, in November, 1916, and was four months overdue, but the German authorities had assured me that they would continue to regard it as valid for the purpose of travel and identity. I replied to the Vice Consul that the American passports which I had carried during the past year had proved worthless for the purpose of giving me any protection on the high seas, that I had been three times subjected to insult and outrage by the English while traveling on a neutral steamer, that I had been robbed of my books, papers and bonds by the English and notwithstanding my earnest protest to the De-

partment of State my complaint had been ignored. Many of these documents taken from me related to my private affairs and the property of my wife and daughter and as the result of being deprived of them, I had been subjected to grave inconvenience and financial loss. Lansing had permitted the English to regard an American passport as a worthless scrap of paper and I could not understand his sudden interest in the question now and for that reason I refused to give any information. The Vice Consul then informed me that the Legation had received instructions from Lansing to notify the Swedish Government that I had no right to travel on an American passport, which would probably result in my exclusion from the country. The Vice Consul was deeply moved when he made this communication to me and again reiterated that he heartily regretted his mission and begged me to excuse him. He left me with warm professions of friendship. A few days later I was informed by an American who frequented the Legation that Mr. Morris, the Minister, had been ordered by Lansing to request the Swedish Government to exclude me from Sweden, and that he, Morris, was not very keen to make a communication to the government on the subject. Nothing, however, transpired for over a week, when I received a request from the political police department of Stockholm to call. Accompanied by a well-known Swede, I visited the chief of the bureau who received me with great courtesy. He showed me the letter of the Legation notifying the authorities that I had no right to travel on an American passport, and asked me for an explanation. My Swedish friend, addressing his compatriot in the mother tongue, gave a brief review of my career in the American service and the reason of my appearance in Sweden. He explained that the object of Lansing was to deprive me of my passport so as to force me to travel on a German which might be made a ground of complaint against me later by my own government. He added that Lansing was acting at the instigation of the English, who were very much put about by my propaganda in Stockholm on the Irish question. "I want to find out at once," said my Swedish friend, "if my government will allow itself to be used by England and America for such a purpose, for if that is the case I will have it brought up in the parlia-

ment." The police-official hastened to express his amazement when he learned that my passport was only a few months overdue and that I had recently retired after eleven years' service as American Consul General in Germany. "This is an unusual proceeding of your Legation, particularly in the case of a former official," he said. "If the German Government recognizes your passport that is sufficient for us; you can retain it and as long as you do nothing to compromise Swedish neutrality you can continue to enjoy our hospitality. We Swedes have sympathy with all oppressed nations and are glad to be informed on Ireland's struggle for liberty." My Swedish friend here made a remark that my treatment was a typical example of how the great "Democracies," England and America, fought for freedom and the oppressed nationalities.

The next day, accompanied by my friend, we called at the Foreign Office and made a full report of what had occurred. I also received here a most friendly reception and was assured that I would not be interfered with or annoyed by further inquisition. This was the last effort of Wilson's administration to deprive me of my passport in Sweden and I was subjected to no further enquiry or inconvenience during my stay. Such was the recognition of Wilson's government for my eleven years' work in the service of the United States. The contemptible act was worthy of its sponsors.

I had come to Stockholm as announced in the American papers for the purpose of enlisting the sympathy and support of the Socialist Conference for the Freedom of Ireland. Wilson had in his messages and speeches repeatedly declared in favor of self-determination of nations and emphasized the duty of America to aid oppressed peoples in the struggle for liberty. His efforts to interfere with my mission in Sweden on behalf of Ireland is a glaring illustration of his inconsistency and hypocrisy and his subservience to the English Government, which at that time was carrying on with his connivance a policy of rapine, murder and desolation in my native land.

Americans of Irish descent and their sympathizers had many occasions in the future to learn through bitter experience that Wilson's prejudices were completely pro-British and that he and his Southern advisers were hostile to the Irish cause.

While he used, it is true, his powerful influence in behalf of the Poles and the Czechs, he can claim no credit in the achievement of Irish liberty or the foundation of the "Free State." On the contrary, during his administration the government agencies were employed to harass and persecute the Irish-American leaders to the extent of supplying the English Secret Service with information of value, and prosecuting and arresting envoys of the Revolutionary movement who had taken refuge in our country.

I remained in Stockholm several weeks carrying on my propaganda for the Irish cause, until I was convinced that there was no hope of the Conference being held, so I returned to Germany. Dr. Chatterton-Hill had departed some time previously, but before I left I made arrangements that the bureau of the "Friends of Irish Freedom" would continue its work in its headquarters at Artilleriegatan 28.

During our stay in Stockholm, the Swedish press gave considerable publicity to articles we furnished dealing with the Irish question, numerous interviews with us were printed in the leading papers and we received many manifestations of sympathy and support from unexpected quarters. Very effective propaganda work was also done in Norway and Denmark. In Norway, where the notorious Findley still held the post of Minister, we exploited his criminal attempt to secure the person of Sir Roger Casement, very much to his, Findley's, annoyance and humiliation. It will be remembered that after the failure and exposure of his crime, this typical English diplomat received a high decoration from his Sovereign.

We also issued through our bureau a protest against the introduction of the compulsory Military Service Act to Ireland and an appeal to the Powers directing the attention of all civilized governments to the existing Irish situation. The English text of the former document is as follows:

AGAINST IRISH CONSCRIPTION

PROTESTS OF FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM, STOCKHOLM BUREAU

THE most critical hour of British Imperialism has struck. Under the powerful blows of the German armies the English are giving way on

the entire West Front. Already a statesman like Lord Haldane is contemplating the possibility of abandoning Calais, *i.e.* the final annihilation of all English hopes unceasingly expressed for more than three years.

In this its hour of fate British Imperialism still believes that it is able to save itself at the expense of the Irish people. Hence the attempt is to be made, at the bidding of a foreign Parliament, to force Ireland's men into a foreign army, in spite of their wishes as frequently indicated.

The crime proposed against the most elementary rights of any people appears to deserve the greater condemnation since it is to be committed by England, who from the outbreak of the war pretends to be fighting solely for the deliverance and the right of self-determination of all peoples.

That same English government which professes for almost four years to be waging war for the restoration of Belgium, Servia and Roumania, now wishes to cap its own work of oppression in Ireland.

What complaints were heard from English statesmen and from the English press when Belgians were forcibly deported from their country to Germany! But now all Irishmen able to bear arms are to be forcibly deported,—not, as was the case with the Belgians, to work for a suitable remuneration far away from the theatre of war, but to shed their blood on the battlefields of Flanders for other people's interests.

England's interests have nothing in common with those of Ireland. On the contrary, the interests of the two countries are diametrically opposed. For England, Ireland is merely the fortress which commands access to the ocean. The inhabitants of that fortress for centuries have been systematically sacrificed for the necessities of English Imperialism.

Ireland's interests imperatively demand complete separation from England. Only an independent, sovereign Ireland will be able to develop the dormant forces of the land, its great resources, and to guarantee its wellbeing as a state. Then only an Ireland, impoverished through English Imperialism, will again become the rich and flourishing Ireland of former days.

The last heroic battle for liberty of the Irish two years ago was, as John Dillon said, smothered in a sea of blood. But that carnage does not suffice England, the "protectress of the little nations." Ireland must now immolate her last men to the Moloch of English Imperialism.

To this demand of the English rulers there is, of course, but one answer: *Non possumus!* Ireland will not under any circumstances surrender her sons for the defence of interests that are hostile to Ireland!

And should the English Government, the "protector of the little

nations," attempt to forcibly lead Irish men to the slaughter, it will find out that the Irish know how to use the weapons England puts into their hands! Not against the Germans, but against the implacable enemies of Ireland!

The English Government, the "protector of the little nations," has long ago seen to it that Ireland, India, Egypt should be cut off from the outer world. The eyes of humanity are to be trained on Belgium, on Servia, on Roumania, on Armenia, so that they may be turned away from the starvation, from the executions, from the gagging of public opinion, from the deportations, from the terrorism in Ireland, India and Egypt.

That is the reason why the leaders of the Irish nation at home are unable to appeal to the world. That is why they can not protest before the tribunal of humanity against this latest attempt of England upon the most sacred and most fundamental rights of the Irish nation.

The Stockholm bureau of the great Irish-American organization, "Friends of Irish Freedom," considers it to be its bounden duty to enter a solemn protest, in the name of the entire Irish people, against the attempt to sacrifice Ireland to English Imperialism. All Irishmen, without distinction of party, are united in resisting the introduction of conscription, in the firm determination to fight for the rights of their nation to the last minute, and to the last man. Should the English Government, the "protector of the little nations," actually risk the attempt, the world will behold how great are the sacrifices which the Irish people are ready and able to bring for their liberty and their rights.

Stockholm, April 22, 1918.

In the name of the Stockholm Bureau of the "Friends of Irish Freedom."

T. ST. JOHH GAFFNEY.

GEORGES CHATTERTON-HILL.

In the first week of November, 1918, my colleague and I sent from the Bureau of the "Friends of Irish Freedom," in Stockholm, a telegram to President Wilson protesting against the declaration of Bonar Law, who in the name of the British Government, repudiated the representation of Ireland at the Versailles Peace Conference. This telegram was suppressed in the American and Entente Press, but appeared in many neutral journals.

After the arrival of President Wilson in France we delivered the following note to the Ministers of the seventeen Powers accredited to the Swedish Government.

THE FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM (NEW YORK)

Stockholm Bureau

Artillerigatan, 28 B.

Stockholm, December 23rd, 1918.

MR. MINISTER,

In the course of 1917, on the occasion of the visit to Stockholm of the delegates to the International Socialist Conference, we had the honor, in our capacity as European representatives of the Irish-American organization "The Friends of Irish Freedom," to remit you a Memorandum dealing with the Irish question and the Irish claim to self-determination.

The war has now come to an end. Within the next few months the Peace Conference will assemble to lay the basis of a new Europe conformably with the principles enunciated by the President of the United States of America, and accepted alike by the Powers of the Entente and the Central Powers. In the interest of that lasting peace so expressly desired by President Wilson it is indispensable that not only the interests of the nationalities hitherto under the Dominion of the Central Powers, but also those of the nationalities forcibly included in the British Empire, should receive impartial consideration.

In the course of his various messages to Congress and of his other utterances, notably in the course of his speech delivered on July 4th, 1918, the President of the United States of America has eloquently and convincingly championed the right of every nation, great or small, to self-determination, he has demanded that no nation shall in future be governed by the law of force against its consent, that the settlement of all clearly defined aspirations be ensured without regard to the egotistical interests of foreign Powers, and solely in accordance with the wishes of the nations concerned; he has eloquently contended that no nation, however strong, shall have the right to oppress another nation, however weak; he has urged the necessity of establishing a common standard of right and wrong for all nations; he has stated that the aim to be realised by this war is the suppression of the reign of force and arbitrary government and the setting-up of the reign of justice based on the principle of government by the consent of the governed.

There is not one of the principles put forward by President Wilson and accepted by all the belligerent nations, which does not apply as conclusively to Ireland as it does to Belgium, Poland, Bohemia, and the other nations whose liberation and protection against oppression was the avowed aim of the Entente in the course of the prosecution of the war. The national aspirations of Ireland are as clearly defined as those of any of the peoples whose liberation the Entente has obtained. For the past 700 years the Irish people has fought without remission for the recovery of its national liberty. During the war the claims of the Irish nation have been many times clearly and

decisively stated: by the Irish Race Convention in New York on March 4th, 5th and 6th, 1916; by the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic of April 24th, 1916; by the Sinn Fein Conventions in Dublin on April 19th, 1917, and October 25th, 1917; in the Memoranda addressed by the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the President and Congress of the United States of America through the intermediary of Envoy McCartan on July 23rd, 1917. All these statements of Ireland's claim to national self-determination have received the support of the overwhelming majority of the Irish nation as is evidenced by the result of the various elections since the beginning of 1917.

Not only the President of the United States, but also the responsible statesmen of Great Britain, have publicly and repeatedly adhered to the principle of national self-determination. The British statesmen have decided that the question of the national status of Bohemia, Jugo-Slavia, Serbia, Poland, Belgium, Finland, etc., shall be settled by the International Peace Conference. And yet, speaking on behalf of the British Government, Mr. Bonar Law declared on November 5th, 1918, that under no circumstances would England consent to the Irish question being discussed by the Peace Conference.

Mr. Bonar Law's statement shows clearly the inconsistency of the policy by the British Government. The Irish nation has exactly the same right at the Peace Conference and to lay before the latter its just claim to national self-determination, as have the Czechs, the Jugo-Slavs, the Poles, the Finns, or any other nation. We feel convinced that no man possessing the sense of logic and justice will refuse Ireland's claim to be admitted to the Conference of Nations. We are equally convinced that all those nations whose liberation has been secured as a result of the war, and for whom Ireland entertains feelings of sincere sympathy and friendship, will recognize Ireland's right to the same treatment as themselves. We feel convinced that the President of the United States will recognize that the principles so eloquently formulated by him, must find their application in the case of all weak nations which have been, or still are, subjected to arbitrary government against their will solely in the interest of a foreign Power.

If the principles which the United States and the Powers associated with them have championed are to find their just and logical application, then must Ireland cease to be ruled by a military dictator, then must British government in Ireland through the instrumentality of Dublin Castle come to an end, then must the Irish nation be free to shape its own destinies and to work out its own salvation. Granted the principle of national self-determination accepted by all the belligerent Powers, then must Ireland be free, in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of her authorized representatives, to appear before the Peace Conference and obtain international recognition for her incontestable rights. The claim of Ireland to control her own

destinies without interference by a Foreign Power, and without regard to the interests of any foreign Power is raised equally by Sinn Fein and by the Irish Parliamentary party. "We claim," said Mr. John Dillon in the debate in the British House of Commons on November 5th, 1918, "that Ireland is a nation with independent rights and that the national right of Ireland is to be mistress of her own destiny."

The most elementary logic and justice require that the principles laid down by the President of the United States of America and accepted by all belligerent Powers be applied as a whole, with strict impartiality, without exceptions. Otherwise those principles would necessarily be valueless. The test of their value is the sincerity and universality of their application.

In taking the liberty of forwarding you the present Memorandum, the undersigned would be deeply grateful on behalf of the organization they represent and of the whole Irish people, if you would lay it before the Government you represent.

We have the honor to remain, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY,
Formerly Consul General of the
United States of America

in Munich.
G. CHATTERTON-HILL,
Formerly Lecturer at the
University of Geneva,

There is no doubt the above memorandum was sent to the several Foreign Offices by the Ministers to whom it was addressed. In a document published by the British Government relative to the Sinn Fein movement and submitted to Parliament in 1921. appear long extracts from it. In this report there is also a statement that a typed copy was found in De Valera's Attaché case when he was arrested on 17th of May, 1918. I learned during a visit to Ireland after the war that this copy was handed to one of the revolutionary leaders by the French Consul General in Dublin who had received it from the Minister of Foreign affairs. His government, he declared, wished to know if the paper was authentic and authorized. The memorandum was discussed at a meeting of the Sinn Fein Directory and approved, and the French Consul-General was so informed.

As an evidence of the close relations existing between the English Secret Service and the Wilson administration, I instance the following: Before the British document referred to above was submitted to parliament or published, an advance copy was furnished the State Department by the English Ambassador. This branch of our Government caused it to be photographed

and several copies struck off. These were transmitted, marked strictly confidential, to the different departments dealing with our foreign affairs. But, particularly, they were destined for Wilson's Secret Service officials who were still infesting the country and using the government agencies against the Irish Republican leaders. The document contained the names of various American citizens who were aiding the Irish cause and whose activities had aroused the rancor of Wilson and his satellites. A few days after the photographic copies were distributed by the State Department, a copy was in my hands. I can now tell that very little was undertaken by Wilson and his agents against the Irish movement of which we did not receive previous notice or warning from sympathizers in the different bureaus. I had the distinction of being mentioned twelve times in the British report, my record approaching that of the late well-known Irish leader, John Devoy. We have absolute evidence, therefore, that the English Government was secretly supplying information to the Wilson Administration, long after the conclusion of the World War, for use against American citizens whose only crime was giving aid and support to the cause of Irish Freedom. I have in my possession the authorized text of the English report as laid before Parliament.

CHAPTER XXII
PASSPORTS DIFFICULTIES

IN previous chapters I have referred to the difficulties attendant on obtaining an American passport after the outbreak of the war. When granted, the document, however, was valueless on the high seas, as a protection from insult and robbery and outrage on the part of the English. As I have before stated, all appeals to the State Department for redress were fruitless, and long before the breaking off of relations with Germany, the English were allowed a free hand to violate the rights and persons of loyal American citizens without any serious protests from our government.

The passport which I received after much difficulty in November, 1916, was limited for a period of only six months, but after it expired the German authorities as in the case of other American residents in Germany continued to recognize it, for the purpose of identity and travel, and it was with this document I went to Sweden in the spring of 1917. I have already told of the efforts of the American minister to deprive me of it in Stockholm and his vain attempt to have me excluded from the country.

As a sample of the systematic and deliberate misrepresentation to which I was subjected, I recall that after my arrival in Sweden the Berlin correspondent of the *Chicago News* published in that paper a series of false statements about my mission in Stockholm and the German Irish Society. He also stated that I had traveled on a German passport. It is a peculiar fact that this correspondent was undisguisedly pro-German while he was in Berlin even after America's entrance into the war, and he

only developed the emotions of a hundred per center after he was commanded home. Of course traveling on an enemy passport was a very serious charge to make against an American in war time, and if true would justify our government in withdrawing its protection and cancelling the citizen's papers. I answered the dispatch in the following letter to the *Chicago News*:

"My attention has been called to a special dispatch from your correspondent Oswald F. Schutte which appeared in a recent issue of your paper. This dispatch contains several false statements in regard to myself and the German Irish Society of which I am a member.

It is stated that the society sought to identify the Irish cause with that of the Central Powers, and that the movement was launched before the execution of Sir Roger Casement. As a matter of fact Casement had nothing to do with the foundation of the society which was not incorporated until February, 1917, before America's entrance into the war, at which time Casement had been already dead some eight months.

It is further stated by Mr. Schutte that there was little doubt that the Society was *really* financed by the German Government and that all its efforts were *apparently* used to further German war aims. This statement is without a particle of truth. The Society never received financial support of any sort from the German Government, and was solely dependent upon the subscriptions of its members and sympathizers in Germany, Austria-Hungary and the neutral states.

It was distinctly founded for the purpose of assisting the cause of Irish freedom on the platform of the self-determination of nations and our society was never used by the German Government in any way to further its political ends.

The dispatch further states that I went to Stockholm on a German passport to attend the socialist conference in the summer of 1917, and that my mission failed. I traveled to the Peace Conference for the sole purpose of presenting the claim of Ireland to the right of self-determination in conformity with the principle so emphatically proclaimed by President Wilson, and at the request of my colleague, Dr. Chatterton-Hill and myself, the International Conference endorsed the justice of our plea and included Ireland in its peace program. My mission therefore was not a failure but a success.

The statement that I traveled to Stockholm on a German passport is absolutely untrue. I never traveled or crossed the German frontier on a German passport. I traveled to Stockholm on my American passport which is still in my possession and the visé of the Swedish Legation and the appropriate German and Swedish official authorities on that document will substantiate the truth of my statement. In common justice I ask you to give publicity to this communication.

Signed,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

I shall now tell the story of my difficulties with the Wilson Administration and the constant efforts of Lansing and his officials to deprive my wife and myself of the protection of the Government. In August, 1917, I received a letter from the Spanish Consul in Munich, asking me on the part of the State Department for the reasons of my remaining in Germany. I answered as follows:

Doctor Pflaum, Royal Spanish Consul

DEAR SIR:—

In answer to your card of inquiry I beg to reply to your questions as follows:

I am a member of the New York Bar by profession. I have lived in Germany some fourteen years during eleven of which I was American Consul-General in Dresden and Munich.

The reasons for my remaining in Germany are as follows:

1. The precarious condition of my wife's health which could not endure the nervous strain and present difficulties of travel.

2. The only home I possess is in Munich which is held under a lease. My furniture, household goods, important documents and papers, are located in my home. It would be out of the question under present war conditions to abandon it, break the lease or move my effects, and furthermore it might not be possible to obtain the permission of the German Government for such a purpose, as there is an embargo against the export of household effects.

3. The funds for the support of my wife, and myself are largely in German banks and these are liable to be sequestered in the event of my leaving Germany.

4. Aside from the great expense involved which at present I cannot afford, it would be extremely dangerous for my wife to sacrifice her home and comfort here and move to a strange country, where she has neither relatives nor friends and where living conditions are less favorable.

It is our intention to return to the United States when peace is restored.

I am, Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

Munich, Sept. 5, 1917.

Some months later my wife's health having materially improved she decided to apply for a passport for the purpose of returning to America. After several months' delay she received from the Spanish Consul the information that the State Department had refused her application and that the decision was

final and irrevocable. At this time my wife's son was a major in the Engineer corps of the United States' Army. I append a translation of the letter containing this information:

Royal Spanish Consulate, Munich.

Nov. 29, 1918.

DEAR MADAM,

The Royal Spanish Embassy in Berlin requests me to inform you on the part of the American Government, that no passport will be given to you, and that this instruction is final and irrevocable. I regret very much that I must convey this message to you.

With great respect,

DR. PFLAUM,
Royal Spanish Consul.

Mrs. Gaffney was a native-born American citizen and no reason has ever been assigned for this extraordinary action.

Naturally after this affront we made no further effort to obtain American passports while we were residing in Germany.

In March, 1919, we applied to the Swiss Government for permission to enter that country which after some delay was granted. All foreigners entering Swiss territory at that time were compelled by the Swiss regulations to show evidence that they had adequate means for their support. We told the Swiss consul in Munich that we had forwarded to the Swiss Bank Corporation in Zurich 3 United States Steel Bonds which with the coupons due were of the value of 20,000 Swiss francs. We regarded this amount as sufficient for our needs until we would be allowed to draw funds from our American bankers. Upon our arrival in Zurich we called at once at the bank and had an interview with a director who informed us that the bonds had safely arrived. I stated that I would like to cash the coupons (4 years) so that we could have enough money for our support until we heard from America. To our astonishment he replied that under an arrangement made with the Entente to which the United States was a party, Swiss banks were not allowed to buy or lend money or cash coupons on securities coming from Germany, and that it did not matter whether they were of American origin or not. The bank must be furnished with a document from an Entente Legation guaranteeing the transmission of the securities through the mails and that in our case the United States Minister must give this assurance. He therefore advised

us to travel to Berne and obtain such a paper from our Minister.

When I left Germany I thought I was coming to a free Republic but it now dawned on me that Switzerland had been practically reduced to the condition of an Entente dependency in the interests of "freedom and democracy and the protection of the small states."

"Do you think such measures are calculated to help the reconciliation of the peoples?" was the query I put to the director which he did not answer. I had brought with me a letter of recommendation to this bank from the Dresden bank and as we were entirely without funds the director advanced me 2,000 francs, making it clear to me that he was doing me a great favor. Of course he held on to the bonds, etc., valued to 20,000 francs and marks 10,000, which I had also forwarded for my account but which I did not care to change on account of the low rate of exchange, so he had sufficient security for his 2,000 francs. Upon leaving the bank I met a Swiss friend and told him my remarkable experience. "Don't you know of the S.S.S.," he said. "This is an Entente Trade control over our financial and commercial business, but we call it here 'Swiss Sovereignty Suspended.' I am amazed," he continued, "that the United States should be a party to such an invasion of the rights of a small state and that state a sister republic."

The next day we left for our Legation in Berne and sent our card to the Minister, whose name was Stoval. The servant returned with a message that we should go to the passport bureau which was in another building, some distance away. I sent in word to Stoval that I did not wish to discuss the question of a passport but an entirely different subject and again requested an interview. The servant, after some delay, came from the Minister's Office and told me that he was too busy to see me. When the lackey had opened the door of the Minister's room, I happened to be directly opposite and had seen Stoval sitting at his desk reading his favorite organ, the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*. It was generally stated in Berne that Stoval derived all his diplomatic, political and social ideas from the columns of that notorious publication.

Stoval having declined to see us I requested an interview

with the Chief of the War Trade Bureau to whom we were referred. We presented our case as briefly as possible explaining that a Swiss Bank required from the Legation a guarantee that our bonds and coupons would not be abstracted from the mails by the French, otherwise the bank would not cash the coupons or lend money on the bonds. The official whose name was Turner replied that the Legation could give no such undertaking without orders from Washington, and we could hardly expect a reply before two months. "But meanwhile we have no money," said I. "We cannot help that," was the answer. "There are many Americans here in your situation." He further stated that his job was not to procure such permissions from Washington or obtain their own money for American citizens from their banks, *but to keep food and raw materials* out of Germany. "Do you know," I said, "that a million Germans have died from hunger and another million are dying from want of proper food? Do you know that the country is being driven to Bolshevism and anarchy through lack of raw materials to start the factories? Is it possible that the American Government *six months after the cessation* of hostilities is a party to such a criminal policy?" Turner's answer was a shrug of the shoulders. My wife then stated that she wished to draw 3,000 dollars from her private account in the Fifth Avenue Bank, and Mr. Turner said that he would have to write to the War Trade Bureau in Washington on the subject and request the necessary permission, but that we must get on as best we could for the two months we would be waiting for the official answer.

We learned later that many Americans who had remained in Germany during the war, but who had fled to Switzerland after the revolution, were reduced to pitiable privations by this inhuman conduct of Wilson's officials. Furthermore some of them when furnished with passports allowing them to sail for home via Havre or Cherbourg were refused by the French authorities passage through France to reach their steamer and were left stranded in a most helpless manner dependent on the charity or generosity of strangers. Appeals for assistance to the American Consuls were of no avail. Every case was referred to Stoval and he said he had no authority without communicating

with the State Department. Loyal American citizens had no protection from their Government or the official representatives of their country. Their protests were ignored and in the bitterest distress they were abandoned to their fate. My Government had also marked out a special program of suffering and humiliation for me but notwithstanding the effort to place an embargo on my funds and reduce my wife and myself to want in a strange land, we were able to obtain help from my family in Ireland and American friends, which saved us from physical and mental collapse. A friend of mine, born in America and a Harvard graduate, after procuring his passport from Stoval personally, was refused the visé of the French Consul to travel to Cherbourg en route to America on the ground that two of his children had been born some thirteen years before in Germany. I know of at least two American women who died from the worry and difficulties they suffered from the Government not permitting them to receive funds for their support. The French authorities were allowed complete liberty to confiscate all American mail relating to financial or commercial affairs which passed through France. As an evidence of the hatred, malice and vindictiveness of the French officials I may instance the fact that in the German speaking city of Zurich, a notice was hung up in the French consulate requesting the visitors not to speak German.

As a further example of the venom and hate which prevailed amongst the subjects of the Entente residing in Switzerland let me mention the following incidents. A number of ladies of German origin, but who had been living in the colonies, had taken refuge in Switzerland after their husbands had been interned and their property confiscated by the English. While I was in Lucerne some of these ladies were refused admission to the International Tennis Club on the sole ground of their race. Tennis players of German descent were also not permitted to enter for the Swiss Champion games. These shameful events took place long after the armistice. I am sorry to say that the Swiss who were terrorized by Entente spies made but a feeble protest against these contemptible acts which were countenanced by Wilson's officials who were swarming through the country.

American Consuls had the effrontery to threaten American Citizens with cancellation of passports if they were seen in company with their compatriots who had been living in Germany during the War.

Having waited some ten weeks without news from the Legation, my wife made another trip at great inconvenience to Berne and again sent her card to Stoval. This "ornament" of American Diplomacy again declined to receive her. One of the secretaries however informed her that no answer had been received from Washington. "But we are practically without funds and living on borrowed money which cannot continue much longer," said my wife. The secretary expressed his regrets and stated again that they were powerless to do anything to aid us without authority from Washington. A week later, my wife received the following note from the Legation:

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berne,
June 2nd, 1919.

MADAM:

I am directed to inform you with reference to your visit to the Legation in March last respecting your desire to communicate with and receive funds from the Fifth Avenue Bank of New York City, and relative to your desire to cash certain steel stock coupons which are at present deposited in a Zurich bank, that the Department of State is unwilling to take any action in the matter.

I may add that there is nothing to prevent your communicating with the Bank and with the War Trade Board at Washington through the open mail.

I am, Madam,

Your obedient Servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

MRS. T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

After the receipt of this communication it was perfectly clear to us both, that the Wilson administration and its satellites were seeking for mere spite to harass us and in fact ruin us if possible.

The suggestion by Russell that there was no objection to our writing the Bank and the War Trade Bureau was a piece of impudence, as he was well aware that all our moneys and property had been sequestrated in America, and that any letter

from us would be fruitless after the reply of the State Department.

Meanwhile with the aid of money which I received from my family in Ireland I was able to discharge my indebtedness to the Zurich Bank and again get possession of the three U. S. Steel Bonds which that Institution held for my account as before recorded. My own Government having refused to aid me, and all financial institutions in Switzerland being prohibited under the S.S.S. from cashing coupons or giving a loan on such papers without the permission of the U. S. Minister and the presentation of a proper passport I approached a friend in Geneva who was a broker and explained my situation. He was ready to undertake the matter and asked me to meet him the following morning outside a certain bank and bring the bonds. We met at the appointed time and he introduced me to an old French Marquise who announced herself as willing to assume temporary ownership of the bonds, and cash the coupons for a consideration of ten per cent. As she was a French woman in possession of a lawful French passport and a *permis de sejour* from the Geneva authorities she did not expect any difficulty in cashing the 4½ years-coupons which were due. I handed her the bonds and I waited outside while she and the broker entered the building. After a brief time they came out quite joyful, and returned me the money for the coupons having deducted the ten per cent. To such an extremity had Wilson's Secretary of State forced me long after the armistice in order to obtain some of my own money for the support of my wife and myself.

Another incident added to our troubles. During the privations of the war and through the disorder and anarchy of the revolution we had resided in safety and tranquillity in Munich. For two years the greater part of the population had been living in a state of hunger and want and yet nothing had been stolen from us by the sorely tried German people. Two weeks after our arrival in Switzerland, where food and raiment were in abundance, our hotel apartment was broken into by a thief and various articles of clothing and jewelry were stolen from us. It required two months for the Swiss police to capture the miscreant who in the meantime had been guilty of some dozen similar hotel robberies.

Although I explained to the American officials the circumstances and the absolute necessity of replenishing my wardrobe (the only overcoat I had with me had been stolen) no consideration was given or no assistance offered.

As my name was blacklisted in the post offices of America and the Entente countries my letters and newspapers were not allowed to pass over the Swiss frontier. I was able however to outwit the agents of Wilson. From America and Ireland under a *nom de guerre* I succeeded in receiving my mail and sums of money sufficient for our needs.

The behavior of our Government officials during this period was disgraceful, and the callous treatment of the unfortunate Americans whose money had been sequestered by Wilson was absolutely criminal. Inspired by the venom which spewed out of his war bureaus they seemed to take delight in humiliating the Americans, who had resided in Germany during the war. So offensive became their conduct as to arouse the indignation of members of the Swiss Ministry. I recall that a woman named Whitehouse, wife of a fanatical American official, had the audacity to threaten the Swiss political department with American Press hostility if a friend of hers, a notorious character named Rösenmeier, were expelled from the country for scandalous publications in the French Press against the German Government and people. It must be remembered that all this was transpiring many months after the conclusion of the war.

This mean, petty and contemptible conduct was carried on with the authority and approval of the man whose voice was proclaiming through the world his love of Liberty, Democracy and the freedom of the Small Nations.

It was now apparent to us that Wilson and his agents were determined to delay as long as possible our return to the United States and that they were deliberately withholding our funds for the purpose of causing us annoyance and suffering. As Wilson's term of office was happily coming to a close, and the atmosphere grew more favorable I decided to bring direct political pressure to bear on the Government. I therefore wrote to some influential Democrats in Congress to approach the Secretary of State in my behalf. After waiting some weeks I finally

received the following remarkable communication from the Secretary of Legation at Berne:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

Berne,
April 10, 1920.

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY, ESQ.,
10 Rue du Lac,
Montreux-Clarens.

SIR,

The Legation is in receipt of an instruction from the Department of State at Washington authorizing it to issue an emergency passport to you and your wife when you are prepared to return to the United States for *permanent residence*. The Department states that *you must not expect to receive a passport for return to Europe after your arrival in America*. The Department further states that, before a passport is issued to you, you must *submit a written statement to the effect that your affairs in Germany have been settled and that it will not be necessary for you to return to that country for any purpose after your arrival in the United States*.

If you will execute an emergency passport application at the American Vice Consulate at Lausanne, together with the written statement requested by the Department, the Legation is prepared to issue to you and Mrs. Gaffney an emergency passport for immediate return to the United States.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Chargé d'Affaires,

LOUIS SUSSDORF, JR.,

Secretary of Legation.

My wife, who meanwhile was growing very anxious about her financial and other interests in the United States, decided to sign the conditions as requested and for the third time made formal application for a passport. I must here state that every time one made application it was necessary to pay \$2.00, which was not refunded if the passport was refused. This was an annoying tax on the unfortunate Americans whose moneys and property had been seized by their own Government. Some Americans informed me that they had made a half a dozen applications and no passport was forthcoming. But our Legation was not yet satisfied and in the following note made more difficulties:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICABerne,
April 19, 1920.Mrs. T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY,
10 Rue du Lac,
Montreux-Clarens.

MADAM:—

The Legation has received the emergency passport application which you executed on April 14, 1920, at the American Vice Consulate at Lausanne.

In reply I beg to inform you that the instruction which the Legation recently received from the Department of State *contemplate your return to America with your husband* for residence. The Legation will be unable to issue an emergency passport to return to the United States, *unless you accompany your husband and unless the latter complies with the conditions prescribed by the Department of State* in the Legation's letter of April 10, 1920. If you are unable to comply with these conditions, it will be necessary to refer your case to the Department of State for instructions. If you desire to refer your case again to the Department, you should make a complete statement regarding your husband's plans for returning to the United States. Your case will then be referred to the Department by mail, free of charge, or by telegraph at your own expense.

I am, Madam, Your obedient servant,

For the Chargé d'Affaires:

(sig.) LOUIS SUSSDORF, JR.,
Secretary of Legation.

To the above communication my wife replied as follows:

10 rue du Lac, Clarens,
April 22, 1920.To LOUIS SUSSDORF, JR., ESQ.
American Legation,
Berne.

SIR:—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your note of April 19 and in answer thereto I beg to submit the following:

1) It is impossible for my husband to accompany me to the United States at the present time for the reason that we have not sufficient money at hand to pay the travelling expenses of us both and defray our obligations contracted during our enforced residence in Switzerland during the past year. Mr. Gaffney cannot leave Switzerland until I can send him funds from America for this purpose, which I can do shortly after my arrival.

2) It will take some months to make arrangements in regard to

our furniture and other household effects which are stored in Munich and which represent the accumulation of 15 years' residence in Europe, during eleven of which my husband was in the service of the Government. Owing to exorbitant rates and greatly increased difficulties of transport, it will require time and a considerable sum to pay the freight even as far as Switzerland.

3) My husband is the sole executor of the will of a native born American citizen, who died here some weeks ago and who had no one to look after his affairs except a feeble mother 84 years old, who was also committed by the testator to my husband's charge. This old lady who is also a native born American, has neither friend nor relative here and Mr. Gaffney cannot abandon her before her son's affairs are regulated and he has made proper arrangements for her future safety and comfort. It will certainly require three or four months to accomplish this task. Mr. Gaffney's intention is to return to America the latter part of August.

My immediate return to America is rendered imperative in order to meet the very conditions required by the Departmental orders. As earnest of my intention to travel to America I may state that my ticket by the French Line was bought three months ago and had to be cancelled twice because of non-arrival of passport. I still hold receipt for the payment of my passage.

In conclusion I protest against being denied my individual rights and I claim that I should be now furnished with passport in my own name and person without question or hindrance quite apart from my husband.

I would therefore respectfully request you to communicate my situation to the Secretary of State and inform him that my difficulties are very much increased and aggravated by not permitting my immediate return to my country.

Very truly yours,

FANNIE H. GAFFNEY.

As time went on our situation in Switzerland was becoming more and more disagreeable. As I have heretofore stated the secretaries of our Legation taking the cue from Stoval, the Anglo-American minister, did not disguise their ill feeling. In fact I was treated with scant civility by them. At first I could not understand this attitude toward a former colleague until I learned that a confidential adviser and frequent guest of Stoval was a man by the name of Craigie who was chief of the English Secret Service in Switzerland. This man was supposed to be paying attention to Stoval's daughter and in fact subsequently married her. As far as I was aware no charge had been preferred against me by the American Government and of



MRS. T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

A NATIVE-BORN AMERICAN CITIZEN, AND FORMER
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF
WOMEN, WAS ONE OF THE MANY VICTIMS OF THE
WILSON AUTOCRACY

course no act of disloyalty could have been alleged against my wife and yet she was deprived like myself of all her rights and privileges of American citizenship. To add to my troubles I was frequently called on by the Swiss Political Police and questioned as to the reasons of my remaining in Switzerland. Upon my demanding why I was being constantly harassed by these visits they informed me that I had been denounced by the agents of a Great Power as a dangerous foreigner with revolutionary connections. When the Police were unable to find cause for my expulsion, the Tax Department was incited to make exorbitant levies upon me, which of course I was unable to meet, owing to the refusal of Wilson's officials to allow my own money to reach me although the war was then over some eight months. I must not forget to mention that Stoval's Legation like Page's Embassy in London was regarded by Americans in Berne as infected with Anglo-Mania and completely under the influence of the British Foreign Office. The Colony breathed a sigh of relief upon Stoval's recall, which was quickly followed by the transfer of Craigie to the British Embassy at Washington. With singular acumen it had been the custom in recent years for the London Foreign Office to send to Washington, secretaries who had married American women, appreciating the political and social advantages that would accrue from this policy. And so Craigie, the English son-in-law of Stoval, was promoted to Washington, a more fertile field for his peculiar activities in view of the Irish Republican sentiment which was prevalent in the United States at that time. It was now clearly evident to me that I was being victimized by the authorities in Washington and their agents abroad on account of my interest and support of the cause of Irish Freedom.

After some weeks' further delay Mrs. Gaffney was finally through the influence of Wilson's son-in-law W. G. McAdoo, former secretary of the Treasury, given a passport in her own name and sailed at once via Cherbourg for the United States. McAdoo, who had been a personal friend of mine of many years' standing, had not yet got over his war hysteria and refused to approach the Secretary of State in my behalf.

To conform to the conditions laid down by the Department that I should wind up my affairs in Germany before being

granted a passport, it was necessary for me to visit that country. I therefore applied to the Police Department in Lausanne for a visé to leave Switzerland and return. The officials there were most uncivil and kept me waiting ten days and finally stated that I could obtain the return visé from a Swiss Consul in Germany, and that it was unnecessary for me to wait any longer in Lausanne. I decided to leave without further delay as matters of urgency required my presence in Berlin. Traveling conditions in Germany at this time owing to the revolution were extremely difficult, and disorder prevailed in many parts of the country.

After a weary and frequently interrupted journey I finally reached Berlin several hours late. Here I found dispatches which required my presence immediately in Holland to transact important business with a London Solicitor, in the case of a client whose interests I represented. I at once went to the Dutch Consulate and filled out the appropriate formula for a visé. The Consul told me that all requests to enter Holland, owing to the revolutionary conditions in Europe, had to be approved at The Hague and volunteered to telegraph at my expense the application, otherwise, it would have to go by mail which would involve several days' delay. Of course I authorised him to telegraph and for a week I called daily at the consulate without any answer. A second most urgent dispatch was sent but not even an acknowledgment reached the Consul. "Your name is evidently blacklisted," said he, "and the Government will not let you cross the frontier." I was almost desperate because I was responsible for summoning the London Solicitor to Holland, and it would be extremely embarrassing for me if I failed to meet him and of course it was out of the question for me to attempt to cross to England. I decided therefore to take the first train for Amsterdam and to try by hook or crook to bluff my way through. When we reached the frontier I was the first off the train and in the passport bureau. I asked for the chief and started to explain the difficult situation in which I was placed. He begged me very politely to wait until he had finished with the other passengers and I sat near him while he viséed or rejected the passports that were handed him by the unfortunates who were flying from the chaotic conditions then ap-

proaching anarchy, which prevailed in the Central States of Europe. A few were refused and set up loud lamentations. Finally I had an opportunity to explain the extreme necessity of my presence at The Hague. He listened attentively and said that in view of my former official position in the American Consular Service he would give me a visé for three days, on his own responsibility, to pass through Holland to reach the Flushing boat en route to England. "But I am not going to England. I wish to return to Germany," I replied. He answered that he was in charge there and upon my arrival he would again pass me over the frontier. Wishing me good luck, he escorted me to the train. I will never forget the courtesy and kindness of this gallant Dutch official, whose name was Overduin. With no further trouble I reached my hotel in Amsterdam and, completely tired out, I went immediately to bed. As I was dressing early the following morning, I was called down stairs by the manager who stated that some visitors desired to see me in the office. Upon my answering in person this summons, I found two Secret Service agents of the Political Department, of the Dutch Government who expressed a wish to see my passport. After studying the document for some minutes they returned it to me, with the statement that I must go at once to The Hague and present myself at the Passport Control Bureau. There was nothing for me to do but to follow this invitation so I took the earliest train for the capital, and called at the designated bureau where I was subjected to a long cross-examination as to the object and reasons for coming to Holland. From the character of the questions, I was convinced that the English Government was responsible for all this trouble and annoyance. My telegrams to the London Solicitor had no doubt created suspicion and as my name was on their black list they assumed that I was engaged in some dark conspiracy, which menaced the Empire. During and after the War, Great Britain exercised a form of control over the police organs of the neutral states and furnished them with the names of persons obnoxious to her, denouncing them as emissaries of Sinn Fein or the Russian Soviet. I was fortunate, however, in being able to remove any doubts as to the legitimacy of my mission to Holland and was given a *permis de sejour* for seven days.

I met my legal friend as arranged and without further complications was able to leave Holland within the prescribed time. It was necessary however for me to visit Hamburg before starting on my long trip to Switzerland. Having transacted this business and obtained the appropriate visé from the Swiss Consul at Hamburg I left for Switzerland via Lindau. Upon my arrival in Romanshorn, the Swiss passport station, I was informed by the officials that they had received a telegram from the Political Department at Berne that I was to be refused admission to Switzerland. I was forced therefore to return to Lindau where I remained three weeks cabling and writing my friends in the United States about my predicament. I also sent long and urgent telegrams to Gary who had succeeded Stoval as American Minister in Berne, explaining how important it was for me to spend at least a week in Switzerland where my trunks and papers were still in my hotel. Gary made no effort to relieve me and did not communicate with the Swiss Government in my behalf.

In the meantime Lansing, Wilson's Secretary of State, had been retired and had been succeeded by Colby of New York to whom I was not unknown. The following letter to my lawyer in Washington, who was looking after my interests there, will explain my situation at that time:

I waited over a week after receiving your cable at Lindau, for some sign of life from Berlin or Berne, and then I sent an urgent letter to the American minister at Berne, begging him to give me some information as to the action of the Department of State. In reply I received the following answer:

"Department telegraphs American commissioner Berlin authorized to issue you certificate of identity for return to the United States when you have completed your arrangements for direct return to the United States.

GARY, American Minister."

This instruction, of course, precludes my entering Switzerland, and it is perfectly apparent to me, that the minister made no effort in that regard. Now he cannot plead ignorance as to the object of my intended visit to Switzerland, namely to obtain my passport for my return to the United States, and to transact very important business for an invalid and elderly lady (84 years old) who is an American citizen and of whose son's will I am the sole executor.

I fully advised the minister of the imperative necessity of my seeing the lady in question, whose physical condition is such as to

make every eventuality possible at any moment. The minister cannot therefore pretend to be uninformed as to the absolute necessity of my seeing my client, and yet he moved not a finger to protect the rights of this lady, who is at present helpless. While I am in possession of evidence showing that the English are at the bottom of my exclusion from Switzerland, I am now convinced that the American Legation at Berne was covertly if not openly, in sympathy with this unwarrantable action against me. It is the continuation of persecution to which I have been subjected since the close of the war by Wilson's agents, instigated undoubtedly by the English. My attorney, Mr. M. F. Doyle of Philadelphia, wrote me that he was shown a number of reports against me at the State Department, *some of which emanated from English agents*. On such ex-parte evidence I have been pilloried and deprived of the rights guaranteed me by the Constitution of the United States. Instead of receiving the protection of the official authorities of my Government, I have been subjected to all forms of humiliation at their hands. Some months ago I was informed by the Legation that it was necessary for me to wind up my affairs in Germany, before a passport to return to the United States could be issued me. It was, therefore, necessary for me to go to Germany to carry out this decree. In addition, I was obliged to adjust the affairs of my client, before my departure for the United States. I travelled on a document of identity similar to that issued by the German Government to all Americans when their passports were taken from them as the result of America's intervention in the war. All American citizens without American passports use this paper for the purposes of travel, otherwise it would be impossible for them to move anywhere in Europe. It is in no sense a passport and the insinuation that I have travelled on a German passport is a base and scandalous falsehood. The paper is still in my possession and is at the disposition of the authorities when I return.

As far as I know, no charge has been made against me and yet my Government, whose duty it clearly is to protect me, has handed me over to the persecution and underhand practices of England upon evidence collected by its agents. No effort has been omitted to ruin me physically, mentally and financially. As a result of my exclusion from Switzerland I have suffered the gravest loss, in addition to being prevented from giving my professional assistance to my aged client in Lucerne. The sole purpose of my recent activities in Germany in behalf of this lady was the furthering of exclusively American interests. The proof of this declaration is equally at the disposition of my Government.

I am compelled to return to America via Hamburg, and must travel from Lindau to Berlin and Hamburg at great expense and under the highly unsatisfactory railroad conditions at present obtaining in Germany. It is my intention upon my return to the United States to demand an investigation as to the origin of my persecution

and the identity of those who were responsible therefor, and I write you these lines in the hope that my friends will see that at least some measure of justice and fair treatment be accorded me.

Mrs. Gaffney is also being made to suffer the wrath of Mr. Wilson's officials; although she has been in America for over two months and has the support and professional assistance of Mr. W. G. McAdoo, she has not yet been able to secure the release of her funds.

I will sail for American on the *Mongolia*, leaving Hamburg September 4th, and as soon as possible after my arrival will visit you in Washington.

Very faithfully yours,
(signed) T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS AND AMERICAN PROPERTY IN GERMANY DURING THE WAR

"The Versailles Treaty was arrived at after six months of plotting and intrigue in an atmosphere of greed, hate, falsehood and revenge. It was conceived in lust and born of lies!"

STEWART E. BRUCE

"To saddle Germany with the sole responsibility for the war, is, from what we already know—and more will come—an absurdity. To frame a treaty on an absurdity is an injustice. Humanly, morally and historically the Treaty of Versailles stands condemned, quite apart from its economic monstrosities."

AUSTIN HARRISON

IN order to excuse the expropriation and sequestration of private property in the United States owned by German subjects or American citizens residing in Germany, A. Mitchell Palmer, Wilson's Alien Property Custodian, made a series of false statements as to the actions of the Imperial Government. For a complete understanding of the case a record of the actual facts is essential.

At the beginning of the World War, Germany tried to uphold The Hague agreements as to the inviolability of Private Property, but England promptly repudiated them. On August 5th, 1914, one day after war was declared, England prohibited commerce with the enemy, and seized all German and Austrian property in her dominions, the beginning of private property confiscation. Germany, as the record shows, followed enemy acts only slowly and unwillingly. The English Government es-

established an alien property custodian in November, 1914; Germany, not until April, 1917. Although America was by that time in the war, Germany did not adopt economic measures against American property for a long while—not, in fact, until reports reached Berlin that German property in America was being ruthlessly attacked. An embargo was not laid on American property until November 10th, 1917, compulsory administration of American property was allowed on December 10th and the right to cancel contracts with Americans was decreed on December 31st of the same year. Even the reports of Palmer's successors show that the German economic warfare was dominated by no aggressive intent, but only by the thought of defense and retaliation.

American commercial interests were neither liquidated nor sold, except with consent of the American firms and actually for the purpose of saving them from bankruptcy. No American enterprise in Germany was subjected to compulsory administration. Personal and household property of our citizens underwent no change whatever. American business houses in Germany were put under a controller at a salary in keeping with the firm's financial capacity. The principal functions of this controller were to watch the company's finances and exercise general control over the undertaking. The alien property custodians who followed Palmer have made no complaint against the administration in Germany of American commercial interests during the war. Even before our entrance into the war, reputable American citizens and American firms were black-listed by the English and their mail, cables and commercial papers appropriated throughout the world by the agents of that Power. A feeble protest was the only satisfaction they received from Wilson.

The treatment of American citizens who remained in Germany was in compliance with international law: no Americans were interned: travel within the country was naturally restricted, but in many cases permission was granted: Americans were also compelled to report occasionally to their respective police districts. The attitude of the government and people in general toward our citizens was correct. The few exceptions known were confined to two or three under officials with

whom Americans came in contact and who, when complaints were made known, were removed from their positions.

I would like to quote here a letter I received from a distinguished American lady of Puritan descent, after the inauguration of the New Republican Government in Berlin. The writer had for many years conducted a school for young ladies in Dresden and was a well-known figure in the American colony. She writes: "Six months ago, it would have been hard indeed for me to have even entertained the possibility of removing my household goods to another land. To-day I am able to look the situation in the face and this is the picture. However the elections turn out the fact remains that the Socialists are apparently in the majority in Germany, and they have some fine men it cannot be gainsaid. But that which made Germany a delightful place of residence for us Americans is, I am certain, gone. With Monarchical Germany had disappeared the perfect system, order and discipline which made us all feel so safe, so well taken care of and protected. In its place we shall have to submit to the overbearing behavior of a proletariat a large proportion of which is without culture and is moreover conducting itself without restraint. It does not appeal to me."

This lady had lived through the privations of the war, in peace and comfort in Dresden, but it is apparent from her letter that the spirit of Democracy which Wilson was introducing into Germany did not meet with her approval.

Now let me consider the treatment of American citizens who remained in Germany, by the officials of the Wilson administration.

Long before the United States entered the war Wilson and Lansing, through Gerard and the United States Consuls, tried in every way to terrify Americans into leaving Germany. When warnings and intimidation failed, England was allowed, without proper protest or redress from our government, to appropriate from neutral ships the checks, drafts or moneys transmitted through the mails for their support. Americans of character and standing were left dependent upon the good will and generosity of their landlords, and the shopkeepers who supplied them with provisions. The Americans appealed to their government, which was supposed to be neutral at that time,

but practically nothing was done in their behalf, and England continued her piracy.

One of the meanest actions of the Wilson administration was to condone before our entrance into the war the robbery by the English from the mails of the civil war pensioners' drafts. There were many of these old soldiers spending their declining years in the fatherland. They had nobly done their duty on the battlefield to maintain the union, and now in their old age its government failed to protect them. It was indeed humiliating for the American Consuls to inform these veterans that the flag for which they shed their blood had again been lowered before the pirate Ensign of England.

After the declaration of war by Wilson the lot of our citizens in the fatherland became more difficult, and a spirit of hatred, hostility and vindictiveness was displayed against them by the authorities in Washington. The subjects of all the other enemy countries who were resident in Germany if in need were provided with funds for their maintenance by the diplomatic officials of neutral countries representing the interests of these governments. Even the subjects of the assassin kingdom of Serbia and despised Portugal received adequate allowances, but the order went forth from Washington that American citizens should be starved out of Germany, and if they would not leave, their property in the United States was to be sequestrated. The Americans living in Germany were mostly persons of moderate means. Some were there for the study of music and art, others were students at the universities, many were engaged in earning their living, or were residing in the fatherland for the sake of economy and family considerations. Several had established homes which were held under lease, and the only friends they had were in Germany. Yet these people, whose means were limited, were ordered to abandon their homes and household effects, return to America or move to strange countries, where they knew no one and where the climate and living conditions were more difficult. In most cases a return to the United States by these people was simply an impossibility on account of financial and other difficulties.

While Germans and German-Americans all over the United States were shamelessly pilloried in the press and insulted and

humiliated by the authorities, our citizens residing in Germany were treated with courtesy, hospitality and good will. Their liberties were abridged in a very small degree and no one had any grounds for legitimate complaint. In Munich, the well-known American library*remained open for Americans and English as before the war. During the coal shortage the library received the same amount of coal as the school houses. Every afternoon the library was crowded with visitors, and on Saturday afternoons the American and English colonies assembled together for the special reception, which had been a noted feature of American social life in the Bavarian capital. The venerable Archdeacon Nies, the pastor of the American church, officiated at the various services on Sundays and holidays, as in the days before the war. In England and America, the lands of "liberty," numerous German clubs and associations were closed by the authorities or under the threats of the fanaticized mob.

While thousands of Germans of character and standing were thrown into prison or interned in the United States, not a single American was deprived of his liberty in the German empire, and not a single American was harassed or insulted in the streets. The newspapers made no vicious demands upon the officials for the enforcement of harsh regulations against Americans, and their relations with the populace were almost as friendly as before the war. In Dresden the American church was opened for service under the pastorate of the Reverend Mr. Wellwood, who was allowed the fullest liberty in ministering to his flock. In Berlin, the English church held its services as in peace times, and the Reverend Mr. Williams, the clergyman, a born Englishman, bore public testimony to the courtesy and consideration of the German Government to him. In England, on the other hand, the German-Lutheran churches were repeatedly mobbed when attempting to hold services and were finally compelled to close their doors.

In its old headquarters in the Friedrichstrasse the American Chamber of Commerce, with the permission of the authorities, continued its activities. In its public reading room one could see the latest American papers, which although full of

lies and slander on the German name and character, were regularly received without interference by the censor.

In referring to the American library in Munich I forgot to mention that there also one could read not only the leading American papers but also the notorious *Daily Mail* and the London *Times*. The enemy press was constantly making the statement that the German people were not allowed to know the truth. As a matter of fact, the most disreputable English, French and Italian sheets were for sale in the kiosks and exposed in many of the cafés. In the street cars it was not unusual to see a passenger reading the *Daily Mail* or the *Paris Matin* without attracting undue attention from the public. The German newspapers on the contrary were not allowed into France, England or Italy, and a person found in possession of one would be maltreated by the crowds, and arrested by the police. In our country a German subject was lynched for reading a German newspaper in a street car. His murderers, when brought to trial, were acquitted on the grounds of exuberant patriotism. The Germans did not fear the truth during the war, but the enemy governments were in constant state of terror lest the truth should reach their own people.

It is mortifying for an American to have to record that the teaching of German was suppressed in our schools, and the teachers turned adrift. In many places books containing the Masterpieces of Literature were publicly burned because they were in the forbidden tongue amidst the jeers and yells of hundred per cent "American patriots." German operas were banished from the stage. The famous conductors of our symphony orchestras were dismissed, and even Fritz Kreisler, the renowned violinist, was refused a hearing before we became engaged in the war. The works of the world's most noted composers, Wagner, Beethoven, Liszt, Mozart, and other masters, were not allowed on the program, and in their place was substituted the vilest jazz and "patriotic" jingle from the dance halls of London and Paris.

Hospitals founded and financed with the money of our citizens of Germanic descent were compelled to change their names and assume others which would conceal their Teuton origin.

Disgraceful as was the conduct of the vulgar and unthinking mob, which had yielded to the incitements of those who should have inspired restraint, far more shameless was the attitude of our publicists and so-called intellectuals who, with few exceptions, viewed these outrageous proceedings with callous indifference, if not with absolute approval. There never was such a pitiful exhibition of moral cowardice in the history of our nation. Such incidents and such conduct not only did not occur in Germany but would be inconceivable amongst this civilized people.

In the spring of 1918 the seizure and internment of alien enemies living in the United States was started on a large scale. In almost every case a pretext was found for the arrest of each individual. Unscrupulous men and women hired by some hyperpatriotic organization were sent out to hunt up the unnaturalized Germans and to find out at least some trivial thing about them, which might serve as a justification to put them behind the bars. Although nearly a year had elapsed since America's entry into the war, hardly any preparations had been made to keep these alien enemies in decent quarters between the time of their arrest and the time of their transportation to the internment camp. They were put into jails and kept in steel cells together with thieves, robbers and other criminals sometimes for weeks until the Government saw fit to ship them to the internment camp, or rather until enough prisoners were assembled to fill a railroad car.

Quite a few Germans who politely refused to subscribe to the Liberty Loan on the plausible grounds, that it meant for them helping to finance a war against their country, were urged all the more to do so, and if they persisted in their refusal, lies were invented and printed in the newspapers about them, to justify their arrest which followed.

One German of high standing was arrested in the coldest winter days coming from a party and still in his evening clothes; he was taken to the basement of a well-known police station and kept there in an unheated cell for more than forty-eight hours without blankets or anything to protect him from the bitter cold. Only by constant gymnastics, kept up during the whole time without sleep, he managed to come through this

ordeal unharmed. Through the interference of a relative he was transferred to a jail. But his troubles were not over. The next day, in almost zero weather, still in his evening clothes and light patent leather shoes, he was taken to a coal yard, and with two husky colored criminals for hours had to shovel coal from a railroad car, with a guard behind him.

While being transported to the internment camp the prisoners were inadequately supplied with food. Once, when the train stopped at a station, where red cross sisters were selling sandwiches which the prisoners were allowed to purchase, the accompanying soldiers knocked the sandwiches out of the prisoners' hands.

In Camp Oglethorpe the internees from time to time were required to perform hard work on the roads and in the quarry. Before going to work the internees were asked to sign a document declaring that they would work *of their own free will*. Many of them, although agreeing to work, if ordered to do so, refused to sign this paper. The commanding officer ordered them locked up in a separate camp behind barbed wire; they were allowed only small rations of food and were kept there for weeks. Strong protests made in this instance to the Swiss Consul Dr. Huebscher had no effect. Not until this incredible state of affairs was brought to the attention of the young and energetic Swedish Count Rosen, who represented the interests of the Austrian internees, the situation changed and the prisoners were returned to the main camp and put back on full rations.

The last internees left Oglethorpe only in October or November, 1919, about one year after the armistice. The detention of these unfortunate German civilians for so long a time was wholly unwarranted and a vindictive act of cruelty by Wilson's agents.

For the credit of my country I refrain from exposing many other outrages which were inflicted on innocent and helpless Germans by so-called "loyal" Americans of both sexes. In addition to the thousands of self-appointed agents of fake patriotic societies who were largely publicity seekers, the Secret Service men of the war president invaded the homes and offices of persons of German name and subjected their occupants to

insult and the worst forms of the third degree. Every effort was made in the press and pulpit to stimulate hate and to incite the lowest instincts of the ignorant and the vile against reputable citizens of German origin. Wilson's security agents were mainly recruited from cheap Democratic politicians of the South and Ku Kluxers, and they treated their victims as they did the colored people in their home land. Draft dodgers were also fully represented amongst these patriots. During the examinations of the unfortunate Germans they were frequently mishandled, and an official confessed to me with shame that as the result of a blow, wholly unwarranted, his victim fell in a faint from which he was revived with difficulty. To encourage the war fever the Government of the "Peace Apostle" countenanced these cowardly practices until they became a public scandal. It can with truth be said that when the record is fully told, it will constitute one of the most shameful chapters in the annals of America.*

The ruthless and vindictive policy of the Wilson administration toward Americans who continued to occupy their homes in peace and comfort in Germany was simply beyond belief. I was one of Wilson's early victims as shortly after our entrance into the war my entire property in America was seized. This act was quickly followed by the sequestration of the property of my wife and daughter, both native-born American citizens, and for nearly four years the Wilson administration would not permit any of our own moneys to reach us for our support.

Another case in point is that of Mr. Ferdinand Hansen. At the outbreak of the war he was the leading caviar importer in the United States, enjoying high standing in the merchant world of New York City. Of sturdy Nether Saxon stock, he entered the New York branch of the firm of his grandfather and uncle (Hansen & Dieckmann), in 1885, as an apprentice, and in 1890 acquired American citizenship with enthusiastic faith in American constitutionalism. After being taken into partnership in the parent house in Hamburg, by tireless energy, he eventually established his own business under the name of the

* There was never such a prostitution of patriotism in the world's history.

Romanoff Caviar Company, and by strenuous devotion to his duties, acquired a comfortable fortune.

His numerous trips to and from Europe and Asia brought him into contact with many wealthy and prominent Americans, without influencing his inherent spirit of democracy and love of congenial fellowship. Enjoying an enviable social and commercial standing and the independence incident to the control of a flourishing international business concern, with ramifications in many parts of the world, he was completely taken by surprise by the sudden outbreak of the war in 1914 and stunned and appalled by the wholly unexpected campaign of vilification and hatred against everything German in America. He could look back upon long, intimate and congenial association with Anglo-Americans, and Anglo-Saxon race pride appealed to rather than repelled his sympathy. But his indignation over the lies that began to be circulated about the Germans seized him with such insistence that he felt obliged to take up the gauge of battle, and in print and through other means opened a whirlwind counterattack directed against Anglo-Saxon mendacity, hypocrisy, arrogance and repacity, especially against the cowardly vilification of dead and living Germans, merely because they were of German blood. He suspended his activities only when the United States entered the war.

When in 1916, on completion of his annual business trip to Europe, he asked to have his pass viséed at the American consulate in Hamburg (remember we did not enter the war until 1917, a year later), the American Consul-General seized the pass and withheld it on the ground that Hansen had attacked President Wilson and had thereby forfeited the protection of this government. For the remaining years of the war he was a man without a country. His considerable fortune in the United States was seized by the Alien Property Custodian and not restored to him, and then in a much diminished form, until several years had elapsed following the peace, while Hansen himself was kept in exile for all the time.

It is interesting in this connection to know that Mr. Hansen's wife and the mother of his three children is a native French woman.

The Hansen case is closely paralleled by that of Herman

George Scheffauer, one of the most promising of the younger group of American poets, a protégé of Ambrose Bierce. This native-born Californian was comfortably established in the best London literary circles and married to an accomplished English lady when the virulent eruption of hate and malice against the people of his ancestors impelled him to transfer his residence to Berlin.

No abler writer enlisted in the German cause of truth and justice than Scheffauer. His writings, in classic English, were of a penetrating character that carried conviction. Exiled from his native country, which he had honored with his finished literary works, he carried on in the cause in which he was whole-heartedly enlisted until nerve-rack and anxiety for the welfare of his beloved wife and little daughter during the lenten days of post-war Germany caused his tragic end a few years ago.

There was no incentive for Scheffauer's pro-German partisanship save the innate protest of an incorruptible spirit against the tyranny of ungovernable mendacity and groundless hate of a people whose blood flowed in his veins and whom he saw ruthlessly pilloried and maligned as universally outlawed felons. During a considerable time of their exile Hansen and Scheffauer cooperated in splendid efforts to shed light upon the sordid, slimy woof of falsehood that British and French propaganda and Creel's Bureau of Misinformation in this country had wound around the fundamental verities concerning the war.

Being denied the right to return to the United States, Mr. Hansen founded in Hamburg, where he had large interests, "The Overseas Publishing Co.," more generally known as the "OP CO." This concern, under his direction and the collaboration of Scheffauer, printed thousands of pamphlets exposing the forgeries and falsehoods of the Entente Press and their following in America. It also favored a negotiated peace and opposed our country's entrance into the war. Three of Mr. Hansen's publications, *Pillory and Witness Box*, *The Unrepentant Northcliffe*, and *Open Letter to an English Officer*, were widely circulated throughout the world and fiercely attacked by the Entente propagandists.

During the two years preceding the armistice the amount of food rationed the Germans and aliens living in Germany

was just about sufficient to keep them from absolute starvation. Thousands, however, died from the lack of proper nutrition. When I have told Americans of the small quantity of meat and bread upon which Mrs. Gaffney and I managed to subsist, my listeners appear to contemplate my statements with the gravest doubt. So acute was the food shortage that we had great difficulty in supplying sufficient nourishment for our tiny Yorkshire terrier. The majority of dog owners, being unable to feed their pets, were compelled to send them to the veterinary hospitals where they were painlessly disposed of. With the scraps of food sent to us for our little dog by kind neighbors, we managed to preserve his life until near the close of the war, when she succumbed. It was our custom every afternoon at four o'clock to drink tea and eat cakes made by our cook if she could obtain the necessary flour. As our lunch was usually of an extremely frugal character, we looked forward eagerly to this repast. But the performances of our pet as the hour approached were most remarkable and afforded us the greatest amusement. Exactly at five minutes before the hour she began to grow uneasy, repeatedly barked in the direction of the kitchen, which was at the end of the corridor, and, finally, as the clock struck four, she made a mad rush for the kitchen, cavorting and yelping at the cook until the tea was brought to us in the salon. She was invariably rewarded by being served first.

No description would adequately portray the privations and sufferings endured by the German people during this awful period. They practically existed on black bread, potatoes and cabbage. I must say they bore their hard fate with stoicism and good will, glad to make any sacrifice to preserve their fatherland from the ruthless enemies who were seeking her destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV

MY TRIP ON THE SS. MONGOLIA TO THE UNITED STATES IN SEPTEMBER, 1920

AS stated in a previous chapter, my three weeks' enforced stay in Lindau was fruitless. Lansing had been fully informed that professional business of high importance required my presence in Switzerland and yet he did not instruct Gary, the U. S. Minister, to make representations to the Swiss authorities who persisted in refusing me permission to enter the country. I was, therefore, compelled to abandon the interests of my client and leave my trunks and papers in Montreux. The telegram I received from Gary ordered me to report to the American Commissioner in Berlin, who had been authorized to issue me a certificate of identity for my return to America. Owing to the revolutionary conditions prevailing in Germany at that time, railroad traveling was not only disagreeable but dangerous, and we arrived after several interruptions in Berlin many hours late. Without delay I called on the American passport commissioner, and after two days' further investigation, I was finally furnished with a certificate allowing me to travel to the United States. Learning that the S. S. *Mongolia* was sailing the following day, I started at once for Hamburg, and was fortunate in being able to obtain the very last cabin which was free.

The *Mongolia* was sailing under the United States flag and, as the ship had been used as a transport during the war, it was in a very poor condition. The crew was composed of the worst elements, drunkenness and disorder were prevalent, and the officers appeared to be unable to maintain discipline. The doctor

had so much to do sewing up cuts and plastering other wounds that he himself became a victim to drink and, during a row, was badly beaten up one night. When we anchored off Vigo the crew got out of hand, invaded the cold storage rooms, helped themselves to legs of ham, joints of beef and canned groceries. They dropped these eatables overboard to the Vigo boatmen who sent up in exchange bottles of cognac and wine. As the food supplies gave out the crew commenced to throw overboard such rugs and blankets as they could appropriate from the cabins. The Vigo harbor police had to be summoned to restore order and some of the ship's property was recovered and returned before our departure next day. I have crossed the ocean seventy-five times and never had such an experience or seen such incompetency in the management of a passenger ship as on this trip.

Matters quieted down during the remainder of the voyage and, as the weather was fair, we made a good run to New York.

As we approached the land, September 15, 1920, and the Customs boat was seen approaching, there was considerable anxiety amongst those passengers who had remained in Germany during the war and were traveling like myself on "documents of identity." I knew that the war hysteria was rampant and that mob psychology seemed still to be the dominant influence in our country. I confess, therefore, that I was somewhat nervous as to my own fate, as I had been warned that Wilson, through his agents, would endeavor to have me sent to Ellis Island for further examination.

As soon as the customs officers had taken their place in the dining room, I descended the gangway and was patiently standing in line when a stentorian voice coming from an official called out, "Is Mr. St. John Gaffney here?" With some trepidation I approached the gentleman who grasped me warmly by the hand and stated that I need not stand in line, that I was to receive the courtesy of the port and that my baggage would be passed without delay. "Show me your passport," said he. I handed him the Berlin paper which, after a cursory glance, he returned to me. I was off the ship in record time. My Irish compatriots in New York had taken care that I would not be further molested and that after my long exile and bitter

experiences, I should receive a friendly and cordial welcome on my arrival in my home town.

My Experience at the State Department

A FEW days after my arrival, accompanied by my lawyer, I went to Washington and called at the Department of State. It appeared that Assistant Secretary of State, G. Howland Shaw, was the official in charge of my case. He informed me that the investigation of my activities and writings abroad had not yet been concluded and the question of my right to an American passport could not be determined until the report of this investigation had been laid before the Secretary of State. He stated that three officials were in charge of this work and that the number of reports and other papers to be examined were rather voluminous. I asked the secretary if it was not a fact that some of these reports were supplied by agents of the British Government. He replied that this was correct. I expressed my astonishment that the Department would consider reports against me from agents of a Foreign Government which at that moment was carrying on a war of destruction, rapine, and murder in my native land. Shaw answered that, of course, they would take this fact into serious consideration. I then stated that my entire property was in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian and that he refused to release it or allow me any money for my support, until the question of my right to an American passport was settled. I begged him, therefore, for speedy action on the subject.

For over nine months I remained in Washington frequently calling at the Department only to be informed that there was no decision in my matter. Of course, the Alien Property Custodian adhered to his original determination not to release my funds, until the State Department by handing me a passport, recognized my American Citizenship. In view of the fact that I had just completed a period of ten years as a high officer of the Government, one can hardly imagine how I felt at this contemptible treatment.

Fortunately my compulsory stay in Washington served one good purpose, as I offered my services to the Irish Diplomatic

Mission which had just been established in the Capital. I need not say that no occupation could have been more acceptable or agreeable to me than counteracting and unmasking the propaganda which had its center in the British Embassy and was then actively occupied in discrediting the Irish Revolutionists.

From our office in the Munsey Building we conducted a campaign for this purpose and for the enlightenment of American public opinion as to the methods of British warfare in Ireland. It is a pleasure to say that on the whole the American press treated us and our cause handsomely and gave our point of view much support. I was glad to have another opportunity to pay back in their own coin, my native country's enemy by exposing the appalling cruelties of which her government and her troops were guilty in Ireland. The so-called German atrocities were now denounced as fables by the editors who formerly exploited them while the crimes of the *Black and Tans* appeared on the front page of their leading newspapers. We kept close watch on Geddes the English Ambassador and his numerous agents who on more than one occasion made protest to the State Department about our propaganda but without any success. It is the general impression that Geddes' failure to induce our government to interfere with the work of my colleagues in the Bureau of the Friends of Irish Freedom was mainly responsible for his recall to London.

Finally, I received a communication from Assistant Secretary of State Shaw that a passport would be furnished me if I signed a document promising to abstain from political writings or activities while I was abroad. As I was most anxious to obtain the release of my property and had urgent business which required my presence in Europe I decided to subscribe under protest to the condition demanded. Before doing so, however, I filed the following memorandum with the Department of State.

IN conformity with the character of this requirement it would be imperative for me to sign an agreement which would expose me to criticisms for any political utterance whatsoever that I might make abroad. I am sufficiently acquainted with the temper of many classes of people in Europe who do not look with approval on various features of the international policy of the late Wilson Administration. Am I to understand that by this regulation I would be debarred from expressing any opinion on America's failure to enter the League of Nations?

As a matter-of-fact I find myself in thorough accord with the program of President Harding as expounded in his recent addresses. Were I to express myself to that effect abroad, I should under the proposed regulations undoubtedly render myself liable to the censure of any person who might know that I was permitted to travel in Europe only on condition that I was not to engage in publicity of any kind. I am perfectly willing to bind myself not to say or write anything that contravenes the foreign or domestic policy of this Administration. However, a blanket prohibition of propaganda of any kind can be construed in such a fashion as to debar me from exercising my constitutional right of defending the United States and its policies in Europe in any and all circumstances. If the prohibition against propaganda arises from the fact that I am known to sympathize with the Irish people in their desire for a Republican form of government—I respectfully submit that such sympathy is not in any way incompatible with my duties and my loyalty as an American citizen. I am well aware that there are on file in the Department some documents purporting to represent and set forth my activities and opinions in the past. These are ex-parte statements, and I have also been informed that they have been chiefly collected by English agents. I respectfully submit that my standing as an American citizen must not be judged nor my rights abridged on evidence prepared by the enemies of my native land and lodged in the archives of the Department for the special purpose of a foreign government. I may not be condemned without a hearing and no charge up to this writing has been made against me. If I failed in my duty towards the United States—I shall take without murmur any penalty that may be inflicted upon me, but I solemnly protest against being deprived of my rights and marked for humiliation and punishment on the flimsy statements supplied by the secret agents of a government which is conducting a reign of terror in the land of my origin.

The delivery to me after four years struggle of an American passport was conclusive proof that Wilson's agents found no evidence of disloyalty that would warrant them in depriving me of my American citizenship.

My Experience in Basle

THE day I received the passport I called on the Alien Property Custodian and having submitted the document to him I was informed that my finances would be released in a few days. After four years I was finally permitted to draw on my own funds and receive possession of my other property. At the Bureau I was compelled to sign a paper releasing the custodian and his officials for any loss which may have occurred in the custody

or management of my property. It is unnecessary for me to mention the grave loss I experienced by being deprived of my entire American Capital during this long period.

This matter being concluded I took the first available steamer for France and after a week's stay in Paris, I started for Switzerland via Basle. Before leaving Washington I had taken the precaution to obtain at the Swiss Legation the appropriate visé to enter the country. How little value the American passport and the Swiss visé had to save me from further annoyance is shown by my experience at Basle.

On the afternoon of May 30th, 1921, I arrived at the Swiss frontier at Basle. Upon presenting my passport to the officials I was ordered to a private room and instructions were also given that my luggage should be brought to the same place. There, the chief of the department notified two agents to open my baggage, take out all my clothes and examine them to the minutest detail. He also ordered them to collect separately all documents, writings and manuscripts of every sort which were found in my luggage. This examination continued for one and a half hours. At its conclusion I was requested to take off my coat and vest which were thoroughly examined as well as all articles which were in my pockets and which I was compelled to lay on the table. I was then subjected to a bodily examination. The chief then informed me that I would have to remain over night in Basle during which time all the documents would be submitted to expert examination. I was ordered to report the following morning at eight o'clock. I appeared at this time and was told that nothing contrary to Swiss law was found in my possession. The chief stated that my name and that of my wife were printed in the list of those foreigners not permitted to enter Switzerland. He stated, however, that he would call up on the telephone the foreign police department and ask for instructions. The result of his telephone talk was that I was permitted to enter Switzerland with the exception of the Canton of Vaud. Amongst my papers two sealed letters were found, one from His Excellency the Persian Minister in Washington to his colleague the Persian Minister in Berlin. The other was handed to me by a friend for delivery in Berlin as the writer was not sure of the address. The chief asked me to open these letters, which I

refused to do, as they were not my property. I asked permission to send them through the mails, as they were not intended for anyone in Switzerland. This was refused, and I was requested to destroy them which I did under protest. On June the second I went to Berne and made formal protest at the United States Legation against these outrageous proceedings. The Chargé d'Affaires Mr. Walker Smith telephoned the head of the Political Department and asked for an appointment for the secretary of Legation Mr. Johnson and myself. At four o'clock the same afternoon we called at the bureau of this official and explained the case to him. In the meanwhile he had obtained from the archives the dossier relating to my residence in Switzerland during the summer of 1920. As these papers contained nothing which warranted the action taken against me, he communicated with the chief of the political police and asked him for an immediate audience. We then went to his bureau and this official asked me to wait over in Berne until the following morning and he would collect any papers relating to my alleged political activities in Switzerland. He stated that the documents before him at present were of no importance or significance. The following morning I called on this official and he read for me extracts from the papers that had been found on file. It was disclosed that I was an active supporter of the cause of Irish liberty, that I had been acquainted with the late Sir Roger Casement and Count O'Kelly,* who lived at that time in Berne, and that I was regarded as a propagandist for Irish freedom. These charges were the extent of the indictment against me and the chief himself admitted that they were extremely frivolous. He, however, stated that the dossier from the Canton of Vaud had not yet reached him and he must await the examination of this before taking proper action. He told me that my name and that of my wife appeared in the list of those excluded from Switzerland, and without any doubt this prohibition would be removed. Nothing appeared in any of the papers on file about my wife except the fact that she was my wife. The chief stated that he would communicate with me in a few days and hoped that the matter would be arranged to my satisfaction. He also

* Count O'Kelly is at present (1930) Minister Plenipotentiary of the Irish Free State in Paris.

expressed regret at the indignity to which I had been subjected. The Chargé d'Affaires and the Secretary of the United States Legation gave me their fullest support in my action in demanding an explanation of the extraordinary occurrence.

Some days after my arrival in Berlin I received a quasi apologetic note from the Swiss authorities expressing regret for the inconvenience caused me at Basle, and stating further that all objections had been withdrawn to my visiting the country. As the note did not mention my wife's name it gave me the opportunity of sending the following reply:

TO THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE FOREIGN POLICE, BERNE,
SWITZERLAND, JULY 3, 1921

I RECEIVED your letter of the 11th of June and have been unable to answer it at an earlier date owing to my absence from Berlin.

In the letter the name of my wife is not mentioned, although I was informed by your officials at Basle that her name was also on the list of those prohibited from crossing Swiss territory. My wife is a born American citizen and has no political connections of any kind. At present she is in the United States, and has no intention of returning to Switzerland on account of the improper treatment which she received at the hands of your police officials in the Canton of Vaud.

I beg that I be immediately informed if the name of my wife has been stricken from this list, otherwise I will refer the matter to the American Legation in Berne. I protest now solemnly on my own account against the treatment that I personally experienced from the police authorities in the Canton of Vaud. The slightest inquiry on their part would have been sufficient to establish my character and my position. I was for over ten years Consul-General of the United States and was well known to many prominent persons in Montreux and vicinity, notwithstanding which I was constantly annoyed by visits of your police. At length when I had a matter of business to attend to in Germany I was repeatedly compelled to appear before the police bureau in Lausanne, and subjected to cross-examination. Finally in answer to my request for a return visé, I was informed that a Swiss Consul in Germany had the authority to give it to me, and that it was not necessary for me to wait any longer in Lausanne.

After I had finished my affairs in Germany I received the appropriate visé from the Swiss Consul in Hamburg to whom I was introduced by the American Consul. When in July of last year I arrived in Romanshorn, notwithstanding my American passport with the visé of your Consul I was refused permission to enter Switzerland by the officials there on the ground that they had received instructions from the political department in Berne to that effect. I was compelled to return to Germany at great expense, and was unable to transact

very important business which required my presence in Switzerland.

With reference to the recent occurrence in Basle, I beg to state that although my passport had the appropriate visé of the Swiss Legation in Washington, I was again subjected to great annoyance by your agents at the frontier. I was compelled to remain overnight there, while my luggage and documents were subjected to examination. The next morning they demanded that I should open a letter from the Persian minister at Washington to his colleague in Berlin, also a further letter that was addressed to a prominent person residing in Berlin. I was not allowed to send these letters forward by the post although they were not intended for anyone in Switzerland. I was finally compelled to destroy these letters in the presence of your agents. I have informed myself as to whether this conduct was lawful and have been assured that it was gross contravention not only of courtesy, but international law.

I repeat my solemn protest against this conduct that had absolutely no reason except that it was known to your officials that I favored a republican form of government for my native country, Ireland, and had written articles on this subject for the Swiss Press. I do not doubt that I was the object of denunciation on the part of the secret agents of the British Government whose activities, I am sorry to say, are tolerated by you. I very much regret that the Swiss Political Police permit themselves to be used by the agents of a foreign government against a man of standing whose only fault is that he is striving for the freedom of his native country.

I have the honor to remain,

Very faithfully yours,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

To this letter I received the following communication on the 11th of July, 1921.

WE have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the third of this month, the contents of which we have taken due consideration.

Our letter to you of the 11th of June whereby we notified you that the necessary steps had been taken to permit you in the future to enter Switzerland is to applied also to your wife, and nothing stands in the way for your future entrance into or residence in Swiss territory.

I cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning my latest and I hope my last experience with passport complications. In July, 1926, seven years after the conclusion of the World War, I applied at the British Consulate in Munich for a visé to visit England en route to Ireland from where I was sailing for the United States. The visé was immediately granted, but a few days after I was called to the Consulate and informed that I

would not be allowed to land in England until a special permission could be obtained from the Home Office. The Consul stated that within a week he had no doubt the matter would be satisfactorily arranged. Having waited three weeks without any information from the Consul, I addressed the following letter to the United States Ambassador in Berlin:

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY
SachsischereHof
Marienbad.

Marienbad, 19th July, 1926.

To the American Ambassador, Berlin

Excellency,

Some three weeks ago I received a visé at the British Consulate in Munich permitting me to visit England for a week, en route to Ireland, from where I am booked to sail for the U. S. A. A few days later I was called to the Consulate where I was informed by the Consul that he had been instructed by the British passport-department in Berlin to notify me not to travel to England, until the Home Office had given special authority for this purpose.

I am quite aware that during the war and for two years after the peace my name figured on the English "Black List," but in view of the fact that I was allowed entry into England in 1923 and that some 7 years have elapsed since the peace, I must protest against being subjected to an annoyance of this character. I have waited three weeks for some information from the Consul in Munich which up to this writing has not arrived.

I respectfully request your excellency's good offices in this matter. I may remind you that I was ten years American Consul-General in Dresden and Munich, resigning the latter post in October, 1915. I leave here the 27th of July for Munich, where my address will be Bankhaus Aufhauser, Lowengrube. The number of my passport is 221064, dated May 17th, 1926.

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

To this letter I received the following impertinent reply:

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin, July 21, 1926.

MR. T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY,
SachsischereHof,
Merienbad.

Sir:

The Embassy has received your letter of July 19, 1926, concerning a delay by the British Home Office in granting you permission

to visit England en route to Ireland and the United States. I regret that there does not appear to be anything which this Embassy can do under the circumstances.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Ambassador

HUGH MILLARD,

Third Secretary of Embassy.

After the receipt of this letter I received a notice from the British Consulate in Munich that all objections to my landing in England had been withdrawn. I, however, sent the following to the American Ambassador.

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,

Berlin,

Germany.

Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt from the Embassy of an answer to my letter of July 19th. This communication signed Hugh Millard informs me "that there does not appear to be anything which the Embassy could do under the circumstances." While I have no intention of making suggestions to your Excellency's Staff as to the performance of their duties, I venture to remark that a telephone inquiry to the British Passport Department, Berlin, by Mr. Millard in my matter would not have been out of place. During my years in the Consular Service I frequently adopted this course when reputable American citizens were delayed or embarrassed by similar passport difficulties. It may interest Mr. Millard to learn that without the assistance or interference of the Embassy on my behalf, the British authorities have voluntarily withdrawn any objection to my visiting the United Kingdom for as long a time as I desire.

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.



CHAPTER XXV

THE TRADE OF FALSEHOOD: HOW THE ENTENTE DEBAUCHED THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD

LYING BECOMES A STATE CULT

"In calm retrospect we can appreciate the disastrous effects of the poison of falsehood whether officially, semi-officially, or privately manufactured. It has been rightly said that the injection of the poison of hatred into men's minds by means of falsehood is a greater evil in wartime than the actual loss of life. The defilement of the human soul is worse than the destruction of the human body."

LORD ARTHUR PONSONBY

"What is new is the treachery by which the Entente Powers disguised their egoistic objects under the pretence of saving right, liberty and civilization from German "barbarism," and collected for that purpose the most absurd and vile lies which have ever been known. What was particularly ignoble was to see the intellectual élite, the princes of journalism, of letters and of the universities, almost without exception, make themselves the unworthy hawkers of this filth."

GEORGES DEMARTIAL, FRENCH AUTHOR, OFFICER
OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

AT the outbreak of the war, as I have before stated, an unscrupulous but well conceived propaganda was inaugurated to discredit Germany—its cause, methods and motives in the opinion of the world. There is no question that this propaganda which was based on the vilest defamation and fiction was successful. The Kaiser and the German Government were accused of having conspired to conquer the world and wreck civilization. The imperial army was denounced as composed of

bandits and savages and the most orderly and enlightened people in the world were pilloried in the Entente press as Huns and barbarians. Even as I write ten years after the Armistice there are many otherwise intelligent persons in our country who persist in bringing up the war-myths and legends although they have been repeatedly exposed as falsehoods and are no longer maintained by the most extreme entente apologists. I have occasionally met Americans of education and culture, who instead of welcoming the onward march of the truth and the exposure of falsehood were absolutely annoyed that their preconceived opinions of the origin of the war were challenged. In fact, more than one declared to me, that he would prefer to die in the conviction that Germany was guilty than now to learn that he had been the dupe of an audacious and shameless propaganda.

After the entrance of America into the struggle we succeeded, through the notorious Creel Bureau, in outdoing and outclassing the most fantastic and libellous utterances of the allies. One of the most shameful chapters in the history of this period of national hysteria is the record of our college Professors which was amply set forth in a remarkable article by C. Hartley Grattan which was first printed in the *American Mercury* for September, 1925, and since then has appeared in the *Progressive Magazine* and other publications.

Referring to the propaganda of literary notables and so-called intellectuals Lord Ponsonby says:

"THEY were able to clothe the rough tissue of falsehood with phrases of literary merit and passages of eloquence better than the statesmen. Sometimes by expressions of spurious impartiality, at other times by rhetorical indignation, they could by their literary skill, give this or that lie the stamp of indubitable authenticity even without the shadow of a proof or incidentally refer to it as an accepted fact. The narrowest patriotism could be made to appear noble, the foulest accusations could be represented as an indignant outburst of humanitarianism and the meanest and most vindictive aims falsely disguised as idealism. Everything was legitimate which could make the soldiers go on fighting. . . . There is not a living soul in any country who does not deeply resent having his passions roused, his indignation inflamed, his patriotism exploited, and his highest ideals desecrated by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, falsehood, trickery and deliberate lying on the part of those in whom he is taught to repose confidence and to whom he is enjoined to pay respect."

Robert Lansing, Wilson's Secretary of State, sums up in a series of high-sounding phrases the indictment against the Germans in the following extract from his insolent reply to the Peace Message of His Holiness the Pope Benedict XV.

"THE object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and power of a *vast military establishment* controlled by an *irresponsible government* which having secretly planned to *dominate the world* proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier whether of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and the helpless poor."

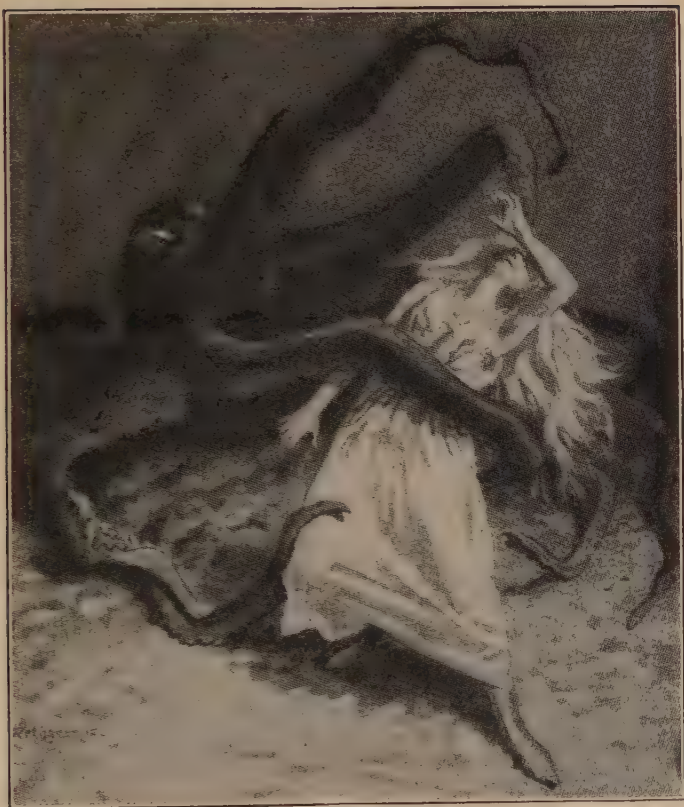
Every allegation made by Lansing in this amazing paragraph could be applied with greater truth to Russia, France and England, of whom he had also been constituted the spokesman on this occasion at the suggestion of Woodrow Wilson.

It may not be out of place for me to quote a recent opinion here of the eminent English Professor Charles Raymond Beazley:

"HAD Germany been the wolfish Ishmaelite pictured by the Versailles peace makers—longing to 'tyrannize over a subservient Europe' 1905 surely furnished an opportunity. It was an opening for unscrupulous ambition, even more tempting than to settle with Russia and Serbia in 1908. Attila would hardly have been satisfied with Algeciras."

Now what facts justified Lansing in making the astounding accusation that the German Government "had secretly planned to dominate the world." In the entire literature of war dementia there is not a more preposterous statement and I need not say that not a particle of evidence was produced from any quarter at the time or since to substantiate this charge of the American Secretary of State. As we read it to-day in the light of the post-war revelations a blush of shame must suffuse the cheeks of every honorable American.

In July, 1914, the German Empire covered 208,830 square miles of the European continent, and was 54,000 square miles smaller than the State of Texas. On all sides her frontiers were menaced by powerful enemies. Her territories had been the



GERMANY IN THE CLUTCHES OF THE ENTENTE
PROPAGANDA

FROM A DRAWING BY H. ROTHGAENGEL

battleground of Europe for centuries and there were few portions that had not been devastated at one time or another by the French. Under such conditions it was essential for her security that she possess an army adequate for defense. Referring to this army one of her bitterest foes Lloyd George said in the *Daily Chronicle*, January 1, 1914, eight months before the war:

THE German Army is vital, not merely to the existence of the German Empire, but to the very life and independence of the nation itself surrounded as Germany is by other nations, each of which possesses armies about as powerful as her own. We forget that, while we insist upon a 60 per cent superiority so far as our naval strength is concerned over Germany being essential to guarantee the integrity of our own shores, Germany herself has nothing like that superiority over France alone, and she has, of course, in addition to reckon with Russia on her eastern frontier. Germany has nothing which approximates to a two-Power standard.

Hundreds of similar utterances from American and Entente statesmen and publicists could be quoted. But let me read what the well-known American *Army and Navy Journal* said in its issue, October 3, 1914, about "German Militarism" and the "vast military Establishment," referred to by Lansing. After commenting on the fact that the French Army equalled in strength the army of Germany this article proceeds:

IF with a far smaller population France is able to put into the field a trained army *as great* as that of Germany, it must be plain that French militarism is drawing more heavily on the men of that country than the German system is drawing on the men of Germany. Comparatively, then, if the maintenance of large forces is a drain upon a country, as is claimed, France suffers more from her militarism than does Germany. The point is thus firmly established that "German militarism" does not demand extraordinary sacrifices from the people of the Empire, that the sacrifices are greater in France. Two things have now been cleared up: (1) That Germany is not peculiar in having compulsory service; (2) that her military system does not draw upon her resources as heavily in proportion to population as other systems draw upon her neighbors.

There is left, then, only the last supposition, namely, that "German militarism" is condemnable because of its extreme readiness. But this is a feature of her military system for which Germany should be praised, not blamed, for what is any army worth if it is not ready when the call comes? The more nearly ready it is, the more nearly it approaches those standards of value and efficiency for which all great commanders have striven through all the ages. Instead, therefore,

of "German militarism" being something that should be "wiped out," it is something that should be imitated closely by other nations, not excepting our own United States. By being as ready as it proved itself to be at the outbreak of the present hostilities Germany has got more out of its army for the expense involved in maintaining it than perhaps any other nation, and in this respect is a shining example to her neighbors.

In order, once for all, to put an end to the foolish chatter about "German Militarism" let me give the statistics of the strength of the standing armies of Russia, France, England, Serbia and Austro-Hungary and Germany at the outbreak of the war.

I quote from an interview with the Kaiser based on official statistics published two years ago in which His Majesty also discusses the naval strength of the Allies and Central Powers. His Majesty's figures or statements have neither been disproved nor challenged by the apologists for the Entente.

THE war strength in the summer of 1914 amounted to 2,147,000 men for Germany, 1,400,000 for Austria-Hungary—altogether, therefore, 3,547,000 men. The German General Staff no longer reckoned on the allied help of Italy. Against this the war strength of our prospective adversaries ran to 5,379,000 men in all, viz.: Russia, 2,712,000; France, 2,150,000; England, 132,000; Serbia, 285,000; Belgium, 100,000. So that there were 3,547,000 men on our side and 5,379,000 men on the side of the allies. At sea there were fleets of 3,264,000 tonnage for the allies, as against 1,268,000 tonnage for the Central Powers. The peace strength of the fighting forces in France amounted to 2 per cent of the population, in Germany to 1.17 per cent and in Austria-Hungary to .94 per cent. France enrolled 78 to 82 per cent of her conscripts, Germany (until 1913) only 50 to 55 per cent; France gave 24.20 marks yearly per head of population for military requirements, Germany only 16.38 marks. These figures should sufficiently prove that there can be no just accusation of militarism on the part of Germany.

The Kaiser might very well have added that with the exception of heavy batteries, in equipment, guns and ammunition, Russia and France were overwhelmingly superior to the Central Powers. The official figures are, France and Russia had available at the outbreak of the war 10,624 field guns, while the Central Powers had only 7,368. Of course these figures do not take into consideration the armed strength of Belgium, Serbia and England which Germany also knew she would have arrayed against

her. In the autumn of 1913 General Joffre, the commander-in-chief of the French Army, was the head of a Military Mission to Russia. After concluding his investigations he declared, "The Russian Army is at this moment the mightiest in the world." The War Minister Sukhomniloff also announced that the Russian army was ready for war in 1914.

The Serbian Minister in Berlin records that on calling at the French Embassy, July 26, the Ambassador Cambon declared to him that the French Military chiefs were convinced of the superiority of their forces and that they would completely defeat the Germans. He further added that the English fleet would blockade all the German coast and enter the port of Hamburg within six weeks. This statement was made eight days before England declared war and six days before the invasion of Belgium. All the evidence now available affords unmistakable proof that Russia, France, England and Belgium had not the slightest doubt that Germany and Austria would collapse within a brief time before their stronger Military and Naval Power.

When we consider the expenditure for war of the opposing Powers, the figures are most significant. In the decade from 1905 to 1914 the outlay of Russia and France for war purposes exceeded the joint appropriations of Germany and Austria by about \$800,000,000.

When therefore war broke out the Russian, French and English Ministers were justified in loudly proclaiming as they did their complete readiness for the conflict. They declared from their seats in their respective parliaments that never were the armies so efficient and well prepared. They glowed with arrogance and pride in announcing their superiority in man and gun power over the hated enemy.

As these great armies were being driven back and overwhelmed by German valor and discipline, the legend was invented by these braggart warriors of the Home Front, that Germany without warning had suddenly pounced upon "an *innocent, unprepared and unsuspecting Europe*." It is too laughable for words!!

As I have before stated the German Empire was smaller than the State of Texas and was encompassed with enemies on

all sides. Her colonies and dependencies acquired before the war *by negotiation and not by conquest* had an estimated area of a little more than one million square miles with a white population of only 21,753 persons. The following is a list of the various colonies and regions which were under the protection or rule of Germany previous to 1914. I quote from the *New York World Almanac*.

	Date of Acquisition	Method of Government	Estimated Area Sq. Miles	Estimated Population
<i>In Africa:—</i>				
Togoland	1884	Imperial Governor.	33,700	900,000
Kamerun	1884	Imperial Governor.	191,130	3,500,000
German South-West Africa	1884-90	Imperial Governor.	322,450	200,000
German East Africa..	1885-90	Imperial Governor.	384,180	8,000,000
Total African Possessions	1884-90		931,460	12,600,000
<i>In Asia:—</i>				
Kiauchau Bay	1897	Imperial Governor.	200	60,000
<i>In the Pacific:—</i>				
German New Guinea:—				
Kaiser Wilhelm's Land	1885-86	Imperial Governor	70,000	110,000
Bismarck Archipelago	1885		20,000	188,000
Caroline Islands ...	1899		560	40,000
Palau or Pelew Islands	1899		250	2,000
Marianne Islands ...	1899		4,200	45,000
Solomon Islands ...	1886	Imperial Commissioner	150	13,000
Marshall Islands, etc..	1886			
Samoan Islands:—				
Savaii	1899	Imperial Governor	660	12,500
Upolu	1899		340	16,600
Total Pacific Possessions	1884-99		96,160	427,000
			1,027,820	13,087,000

During the quarter of a century previous to the War Germany acquired by purchase, treaty or lease two thousand square miles of Colonial lands. In the same period England had appropriated two million square miles of territory, Russia almost as much, France 750,000 square miles and little Belgium one

million square miles. The Entente countries seized most if not all these territories by military conquest.

Furthermore it is of importance to note that the published archives of the Allies do not show a single instance in which Germany ever demanded more than economic equality in a foreign market with other nations.

The country whose government of course was really responsible for the charge of "World Domination" and which inspired Lansing to make it, was *England*, which immediately before the war was in possession of 13,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface, most of which she had obtained by piracy, fraud, plunder and conquest. It is particularly illuminating to notice that during the preceding century England had seized all the points controlling the channels of commerce, as well as those strategically adapted for the coaling of her fleets. I append a list (by no means complete) of these colonies and dependencies as it formerly appeared in the *New York World Almanac*:

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

EUROPE:				
Gibraltar	2	Conquest	1704	20,000
Malta, etc.	122	Treaty cession	1814	216,000
ASIA:				
Empire of India	1,900,000	{ Conquest	Begun 1757 {	300,000,000
		{ Transfer from E.		
		{ India Co.	1858	
Ceylon	25,365	Treaty cession	1801	4,100,000
		Convention with		
Cyprus	3,584	Turkey	1878	275,000
Aden and Socotra	10,460	(Aden) conquest ..	1839	60,000
Straits Settlements	1,600	Treaty cession	1785-1824	650,000
Hong Kong	390	Treaty cession	1841	500,000
Labuan	31	Treaty cession	1846	8,500
Borneo and Sarawak	73,100	Cession	1877	700,000
AFRICA:				
Cape Colony ...	278,000	Treaty cession	1588, 1814	2,600,000
Natal	35,400	Annexation	1843	1,300,000
Transvaal	112,000	Conquest	1900	1,600,000
Orange Free State	50,400	Conquest	1900	500,000
St. Helena	47	Conquest	1673	3,600
Ascension	38	Annexation	1815	400
Sierra Leone	30,000	Settlement	1787	1,200,000
Gold Coast, etc..	120,000	Treaty cession	1872	1,500,000
Mauritius, etc. .	1,063	Conquest and cession	1810, 1814	400,000
Nigeria	340,000	Conquest and cession	1850-1900	15,000,000
Rhodesia	450,000	Conquest and cession	1890-1900	1,750,000
Brit. East Africa	500,000	Conquest and cession	1870-1890	8,000,000

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES (*Continued*)

AMERICA:				
Ontario and Quebec	612,735	Conquest	1759-60	7,200,000
New Brunswick..	29,000	Treaty cession	1763	
Nova Scotia	21,428	Conquest	1627	
Manitoba	73,732	Settlement	1813	
Br. Columbia, etc.	358,000	Transfer to Crown..	1858	
Northwest Territories	1,900,000	Charter to Company	1670	250,000
Alberta	260,000	Charter to Company	1670	
Saskatchewan ...	250,000	Charter to Company	1670	
Prince Edward Is.	2,184	Conquest	1745	
Newfoundland ..	42,750	Treaty cession	1713	
British Guiana ..	90,300	Conquest and cession	1803-1814	300,000
British Honduras.	8,600	Conquest	1798	45,000
Jamaica	4,207	Conquest	1655	900,000
Trinidad and Tobago	1,870	Conquest	1797	285,000
Barbados	166	Settlement	1605	200,000
Bahamas	5,500	Settlement	1629	62,000
Bermuda	19	Settlement	1612	20,000
AUSTRALASIA:				
New South Wales	310,400	Settlement	1788	1,630,000
Victoria	87,884	Settlement	1832	1,350,000
South Australia ..	903,690	Settlement	1836	420,000
Queensland	670,500	Settlement	1824	575,000
Western Australia	975,876	Settlement	1828	275,000
Tasmania	26,215	Settlement	1803	190,000
New Zealand ...	104,760	Purchase	1845	1,100,000
Fiji	7,440	Cession from natives	1874	135,000
Papua (British New Guinea) ..	90,540	Annexation	1884	350,000

During the war and as a result of the Peace of Versailles, England added a further million and a half miles to her empire, notwithstanding the repeated statements of her Ministers that she did not desire any additional territory. A few of the chief declarations on this subject are instructive and are given below:

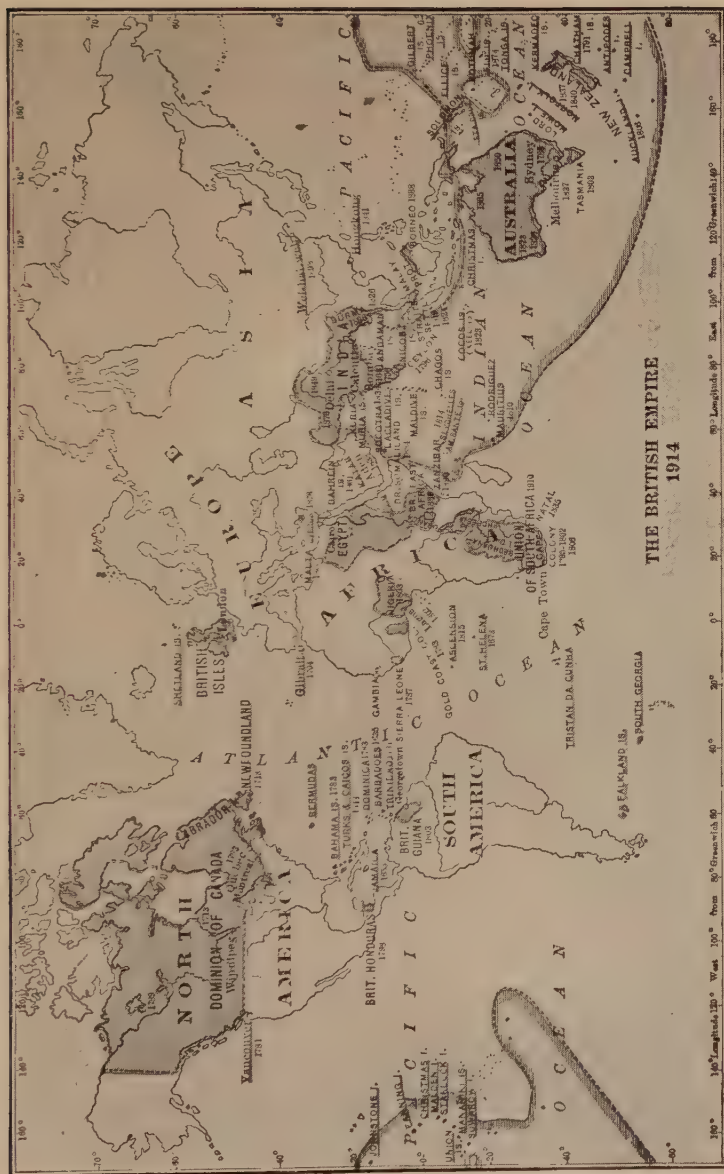
WE have no desire to add to our Imperial burdens either in area or responsibility.—MR. ASQUITH, October, 1914.

WE are not fighting for territory.—MR. BONAR LAW, December, 1916.

WE are not fighting a war of conquest.—MR. LLOYD GEORGE, February, 1917.

SUCH a victory as will give not aggrandizement of territory nor any extension of our Empire.—MR. LONG, February, 1917.

IN checking over the spoils the following table shows just what did fall into the province of Great Britain:



	sq. MILES
<i>Egypt</i> , formerly under Turkish suzerainty, became a dependency of the British Empire	350,000
<i>Cyprus</i> , formerly under Turkish suzerainty, became part of the British Empire	3,584
<i>German Southwest Africa</i> , mandate held by the Union of South Africa	322,450
<i>German East Africa</i> , mandate held by Great Britain	384,180
<i>Togoland and Cameroons</i> , divided between Great Britain and France (say half)	112,415
<i>Samoa</i> , mandate held by New Zealand	1,050
<i>German New Guinea and Island south of equator</i> , mandate held by Australia	90,000
<i>Palestine</i> , mandate held by Great Britain	9,000
<i>Mesopotamia</i> (Iraq), mandate held by Great Britain	143,250
Total in square miles	1,415,929

This is not a bad total, says Ponsonby, of "conquest," "territory," "addition to Imperial burdens in area and responsibility" and "extension of empire," but it surely would have been very much better if Great Britain had not made such rash statements so early in the game, for these lay her open to the charge of hypocrisy now.

It must be clear therefore to my readers that when John Bull claimed that Germany was engaged in a vast conspiracy to acquire "World domination" his object was to divert attention from his own loot. It is hardly probable that Germany would have started out on any such wild adventure while England controlled the seas with her fleet and was in possession of coal-ing stations and fortifications in every important strategic part of the globe. The idea is too ridiculous for further discussion and is no longer mentioned by responsible Entente Historians.

In order that my readers may have a more graphic picture of the magnitude of the British Empire at the time its ministers, press and pulpit thundered throughout the world that Germany planned "World Domination," I submit the following map (not complete) displaying her colonial possessions previous to the war.

In a recent article, the New York *Herald Tribune* discusses England's Imperial prescience in grabbing even the most remote islands if of strategic value to her Empire.

MEDITERRANEAN POSSESSIONS

ENTER the Mediterranean, what is *Gozo*? *Gozo* is an island of twenty-six square miles near Malta. To whom does it belong? Oh, to England, of course. "Well," says England, "it is too near Malta to belong to any one but to me." Who owns *Malta* (itself, by the way, only 117 square miles)? Of course, England owns Malta. It was a useful base when the Napoleonic Wars were raging from Spain to Palestine and through Egypt, Italy, Austria and Dalmatia. Still more important later.

Did some dim imperial prescience warn England of the coming day, when, by the opening of the Suez Canal, Malta would become one of the links in the chain linking London with India and the Far East, thus, England, Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, Aden, India, Singapore, Hongkong?

Enter now the Red Sea. Here is *Perim*, a very small island. England's, of course. She holds *Aden*, and military opinion held that *Perim*, if not absolutely necessary, was very desirable. Hence *Perim* is British.

SOCOTRA AT STRATEGIC POINT

Now we are in the Indian Ocean. Here, as you emerge, is *Socotra*, producing "dragon's" blood and aloes and at a strategic point. It is 1,200 square miles and is England's, of course. And here are the *Seychelles*, 148 square miles, with no very distinctive place to fill in the world of sand, air and water, save, indeed, that here grows *beche de mere* (vegetable ivory). Came in handy, too, when England wanted a prison for Arabi Pasha after she had ground to powder his attempts to become dictator, or sovereign, in Egypt.

We pass by *Mauritius*, for, though a small island (720 square miles), it has a place with the world's great producers of sugar. Once "reunion or Bourbon," it belonged then to France, when she bade fair to own half, at least, of India and not merely the small patch, Pondicherry, now alone hers. The British fleet, of course, took *Mauritius*. We get along through the section of the Indian Ocean known as the Caribbean Sea, past the *Laccadives*, fourteen low lying coral islands; past the *Maldives*, 420 square miles, both England's. Round we go into the Bay of Bengal. Here are the *Andamans*, nineteen islands, 3,000-odd square miles, useful to England as a convict settlement. Then come the *Nicobars* 635 square miles, England's.

SINGAPORE GATE TO EAST

Proceed eastward. At the tip of Malaya we find *Singapore*, which, though few remember it, is an island, 217 miles, to be strongly fortified, for it is very strategic. It is the big gate to the Further East. On, and north, we reach *Hongkong*, within call of the Chinese coast, 320 square miles; England's. Say little of her possessions in the Pacific (they are almost innumerable, counted as separate isles and

islets). In a region where an empire has absorbed *Australia* (3,000,000 square miles), *New Zealand* (104,000 square miles) and *Tasmania* (27,000 square miles), to say nothing of the greater part of *New Guinea* and *Borneo*, to whom should the rest of it in fragments, like *Fiji*, belong if not to her? She has done herself very well, even if she does not own quite all.

But away to the Atlantic, rounding the Cape, which by all the rules of the game should be known as Gama's, but is actually known as the *Cape of Good Hope*. Kerguelen, ninety miles long, almost due south of the Cape, British gazetteers regretfully admit, is "claimed by France." The Crozets are uninhabited, but there are the *Prince Edward Islands*, with the familiar red underscore. There are *Gough*, the (Atlantic) *Sandwich Islands*, *South Georgia*, hundreds of miles apart. The last-named is uninhabited, but its 1,200 square miles of emptiness are British. Then there are the *Falkland Islands*, 500 square miles, and the F. I. dependencies. Northward we find *St. Helena*, the "black wart" rock, with patches of fertility in its depressions, that England made useful as a cage for Napoleon. *St. Helena* is 875 square miles.

ASCENSION ON THE LIST

Ascension, 700 miles away, is smaller; population 240. *Ascension* was taken by the British because, as Admiral Cockburn said, "We don't want some other flag hoisted there to increase the risk of Napoleon's escape." Then we have the *Bermudas*, 900 miles from the United States, and British since 1654. In the War of 1812 the American fleet showed England how important the islands (nineteen square miles in all) could be, and they were fortified from 1815 on. In the West Indies are *Barbados*, 170 square miles; *St. Kitts*, 68; *Nevis*, 50; *Barbuda*, 78, and her islands in the Virgin group, the entire area of the group being only 275 square miles.

In the sea between *Jamaica* and Cuba are the three *Cayman Islands*, dependencies of Jamaica. Of what use they are to Jamaica, or Jamaica to them, it would be hard to say. *Grand Cayman* is seventeen miles long, much of it swamp, much of it white limestone. The Caymans were discovered by Columbus in 1503. The Spaniards, after they took Jamaica in 1509, drew a supply of turtles from these islands. When Jamaica became British, in 1655, the Caymans were automatically tacked on to her, and by degrees gathered a population, some of its units being shipwrecked sailors, and other persons who for one reason or another (often to escape debt) came from Jamaica to this out-of-the-way corner of the world. The population is now about 4,000. It has a large overflow settled in New Orleans and Mobile, Central America and Jamaica.

There is one other little island, stuck in the North Sea, which, of course, England took—*Helgoland*. She, however, swapped it with

Germany for land in Zanzibar, an achievement of Lord Salisbury's that she came bitterly to regret during the World War.

There are two *Christmas Islands*, one in the Indian Ocean, the other in the Atlantic. The former has 2,400 inhabitants, the latter 104. Both belong to England.

The latest evidence of English rapacity and land hunger was conveyed in the note which Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador, delivered at the State Department on November 17, 1928. In this document attention was called to the fact that the explorations of Commander Byrd were taking place on British territory and virutally laid claim on the part of his Government to British Sovereignty over the 5,000,000 square miles of the South Polar region. Is there any limit to the arrogance of this Power? The State Department, however, up to this writing has not recognized this audacious pretension.

It appears to me that I have given time and space enough to the legend of Germany's conspiracy to rule and enslave the world and I shall proceed to expose other fictions for which as has now been proved the English propaganda was directly responsible.

According to Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.,* under-Secretary for the colonies in the government of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, the British were particularly active in the invention and distribution of calumnies and fables during the war. This eminent English statesman was so disgusted with his country's record in this regard that he has written a book called, "Falsehood in War Time," in which, after the strictest investigation, he exposes the most widely circulated and generally accepted atrocity stories alleged against the Germans. He calls attention to the fact that the policy of defaming the enemy was not alone condoned but approved by ministers, as for instance, the Right Honorable Bonar Law, stating in an interview with the United Press: "It is well to have patriotism stirred up by German frightfulness," and Premier Asquith declaring in the House of Commons, April 27, 1915: "We shall not forget this terrible record of calculated cruelty and crime." Later, however, when challenged on the subject again in the House, Asquith must

* Elevated to the Peerage in December, 1929.

have had some scruples of conscience and made the following notable reply:

"No information has reached the Minister of War concerning the repeated stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross Flag; killed and maimed the wounded and killed women and children as has been alleged so often in stories of the battlefields."

I recall also that Lord Robert Cecil (see Appendix 7) at one time so highly regarded in America, did not deny the Government's responsibility for the horrible "corpse factory" canard and, in fact, expressed belief in its truth when questioned in Parliament. (Hansard, April 30, 1927). Slander of the enemy was believed a patriotic duty according to English ethics and I am ashamed to admit that even before we entered the conflict we swallowed with avidity the blackest impostures invented by the Northcliffe Bureaus and La Maison de la Presse. Among the more notorious which have been subjected to critical examination by Mr. Ponsonby and pronounced by him as without a vestige of truth or foundation are the following:

- The Mutilated Nurse
- The Belgian Baby without Hands
- The Louvain Altar Piece
- The Contemptible Little Army
- The Baby of Courbeck Loo
- The Crucified Canadian
- The Shooting of the Franzosling
- Little Alf's Stamp Collection
- The Tattooed Man
- The Corpse Factory
- German U. Boat Outrages
- The *Lusitania* Case

This distinguished English authority discusses numerous other lies and inventions, including faked photographs and forged papers, which for the purpose of stimulating horror and hate of their German enemy were fed to the world by the Northcliffe and Creel Bureaus. The Kaiser was not only accused of having planned the war, but was charged with personal responsibility for the so-called atrocities which figured so promi-

nently in the English and French propaganda. It has now been shown and is admitted by Entente historians that the Kaiser, while favoring a just chastisement of the assassin Kingdom of Serbia, was violently opposed to a European war, and did everything in his power to prevent it until the sword was thrust in his hand by the Russian mobilization. As to the alleged atrocities, the facts are, that they never occurred, and even if there was any truth in the stories all the evidence proves that the Kaiser could in no sense be held accountable. This view is now sustained by all reputable war writers.

The official documents also conclusively prove that the Kaiser had no responsibility for the Zeppelin raids and the unrestricted submarine war. In fact, he was severely criticized in the German Press for his interference with the Great General Staff which wished to adopt these methods long before they became so conspicuous a feature of the campaign.

The English propagandists were so weak in material to discredit the Kaiser that they did not refrain from making ridiculous criticisms which reacted against their own sovereign. For instance, they sought to scoff at his references to the "grace of God," forgetting that every law, proclamation or address which issued from George V, Czar Nicholas, or other allied sovereigns, made a similar appeal. When the German Emperor spoke of "My Army" and "My Navy" it was an evidence of arrogant autocracy, but it was quite proper when emanating from the august lips of such upholders of Democracy as George V, Czar Nicolas, King Victor Emanuel, King Ferdinand, of Roumania, and the assassin King Peter of Serbia.

The ridiculous story so widely circulated that the Emperor had referred to the British forces as "a contemptible little army" has been exposed by Ponsonby as an absolute falsehood and yet American newspapers of character continue to repeat it. The Kaiser's true attitude toward war and world peace had been clearly expressed in his eloquent speech at Bremen previous to his departure for Tangiers in 1905.

"When I came to the throne after my grandfather's mighty reign I swore in my military oath that so far as in me lay I would put aside bayonets and cannons, yet keep them always furnished and in good repair, so that jealousy and rivalry from without

should never call us away from the completion of our garden and our stately house within. My study of history led me to take counsel with myself, and inwardly to vow that never would I strive for a vain Empire of the world. For what was the end of all the great so-called world Empires? Alexander, Napoleon, all the mighty conquerors had they not waded through blood, and left behind them subjugated peoples, who cast off the yoke as quickly as might be, and brought these mighty Empires to decay? The world dominion of my dream consists above all in this—that the new-made German Empire should everywhere be regarded with the most absolute confidence, should enjoy the reputation of a tranquil fair dealing pacific neighbour; that if ever, in the future, history should tell of German World-dominion or a Hohenzollern hegemony, neither of these should have been founded in conquests by the sword, but in the mutual confidence of Nations animated by a similar ambition. . . . Her material frontiers round about her—and the frontiers of her spirit nowhere to be traced.”

In discussing the Kaiser's attitude to Austria during the Balkan crisis of 1912, Emil Ludwig, one of his most vindictive enemies, quotes his Majesty as declaring to Count Berchtold that Austria had no right to cut the Serbians off from the sea:

“I AM still less inclined to embark on war with Serbia for this purpose than I was for the Sandjak. The Triple Alliance covers only the actual possessions of the powers concerned, not subsequent claims. I could not answer either to my people or my conscience for anything more. There is nothing whatever in the Treaty of Alliance, to say that the German army and the German people are to be pressed into the service of another state's political caprices and be, so to speak, at her disposal for any and every purpose.”—EMIL LUDWIG, p. 429, *William Hohenzollern*.

Ludwig also, on page 435 of the same work, says:

“IN the last five years the Emperor's veto had been chiefly instrumental in averting three Serbian conflagrations. . . . There was not one ruler who dreaded and therefore avoided war so much as the Emperor did.”

And this is the man that the Entente and American Press has pilloried as the arch criminal of the world war.

In an interview reproduced in Hearst's Movietone during

February, 1930, Colonel House has finally absolved His Majesty of any war guilt in the following declaration:

I do not believe the Kaiser either planned the war or wanted it.

The exploitation of the execution of the self-confessed English spy,* Edythe Cavell, who violated the traditions and rules of the Red Cross and betrayed her word of honor, is one of the most shameless chapters of English hypocrisy. Although over a dozen women were put to death under the most harrowing conditions by the French, neither the British Government nor press made any protest. I am ashamed to admit that the American Government and Press also kept silent on the subject.

The French war news service was equally efficient although less hypocritical than the English. Three days after the opening of hostilities, La Maison de la Presse was established in a gigantic building in Paris for the manufacture and distribution of official propaganda of the vilest character. A description of this institution appears in the well-known volume, "Behind the Scenes in French Journalism," by a French Chief Editor from which I quote the following extract:

"In the basement stood the machinery necessary for printing and reproduction; under the glass roof operated the photo-chemigraphic department. Its principal work consisted in making photographs and cuts of wooden figures with cut-off hands, torn-out tongues, gouged out eyes, crushed skulls, and brains laid bare. The pictures thus made were sent as unassailable evidence of German atrocities to all parts of the globe, where they did not fail to produce the desired effect.

In the same rooms fictitious photographs were made of bombarded French and Belgian Churches, violated graves and monuments and scenes of ruin and desolation. The staging and painting of these scenes were done by the best scene painters of the Paris Grand Opera. . . . The Press house was the indefatigable geyser which belched forth incessantly false war reports and fictitious news from the rear and the front, the meanest and most brutal slanders of the opponents, the astonishing fictions of infamous acts attributed to them.

The insidious but efficacious poison thus broadcast has misled and infected a host of well meaning but unsophisticated people."

The most disgusting by-product of the world war, as I have before said, was the constant stream of atrocity stories that daily poured forth from the Entente propaganda agencies. Now that their falsity has been admitted and exposed and

* Appendix VIII.

mankind has returned to reason an apology would be in order for the dirty work of the official liars who filled so many hearts with unspeakable bitterness, horror and hate.

Since the close of the war a great mass of evidence has appeared in official documents, memoirs and diaries of soldiers who took part in the events recorded, which substantiate the charges of the Germans that horrible and brutal atrocities were committed on defenseless German wounded and prisoners by the Allied troops. The English and French Colonial soldiers and their colored comrades were particularly guilty of the most bestial and inhuman conduct. Thousands of sworn documents are in the Foreign Office in Berlin dealing with these crimes. In the interest of peace and international reconciliation, the German Government, notwithstanding strong pressure from the Nationalist parties, has refrained up to now from publishing the complete material at their disposal.

The latest book on the subject from an Entente source is by the Canadian soldier, Charles Yale Harrison, and is called *Generals Die in Bed* (Wm. Morrow, New York, publishers). The author discloses that unpopular officers were shot in the back by their own men. He also admits that orders were given to take no prisoners and that in obedience to these orders, the helpless, unarmed and wounded Germans were shot down like frightened rabbits. The Canadian warrior frankly states that ammunition and other war supplies, in defiance of the rules of warfare, were carried on the Allied hospital ships, including the *Landoverly Castle* which was torpedoed. Most astounding of all is the story of the looting by the Canadians of the French city of Arras, and the machine gun resistance of the Canadian troops against the English who sought to drive them out of the town. This graphic account is written by a man who participated in the wrecking and burning of Arras, for which the Germans are compelled to pay "reparations" to their former enemies.

CHAPTER XXVI
THE WAR GUILT THESIS

Today the legend of Germany's sole or clear primary responsibility has been so thoroughly dissipated that no well-informed and unprejudiced person in Europe or America credits it. The destruction of this unhistorical fiction has been accomplished by the publication of a mass of official documents; by research in state archives; by an increasing mass of official autobiographies and reminiscences, and by the patient analysis of scholars in many countries. . . .

Two deductions stand out already from our fuller knowledge of the origins of the war. One is that the destruction of the treaty dictum that Germany and her allies were solely responsible destroys also the theoretical basis on which the reparations demands were originally placed. The real basis for the exaction of reparations is that Germany was vanquished. It is as the defeated foe . . . that she pays. As knowledge of the falsity of the treaty "confession" is diffused, it should pave the way for a milder interpretation of the reparations and occupation clauses. In this fashion historical research will yet make a direct contribution toward more liberal statesmanship.

THE NEW YORK WORLD, NOVEMBER 25, '28

REFERRING to Lloyd George's recent admissions as to the manner in which England entered the war in 1914, the *Nation* (New York) in its issue of April 23, 1930, says:

WE have in these words high confirmation from one of England's war premiers of the worst charges made by the critics of Sir Edward Grey and the Asquith Government as to their plunging England into the hell of the World War at a cost of a million British lives.

This confirms us in our belief that the men who so light-heartedly plunged England into the war should rank among the great criminals of our time.

Sir Edward Grey sat safely at home and never risked his skin after condemning a million of his fellow-citizens to death.

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It is becoming common to say that inasmuch as few people whose opinion is of any value still cling to the idea that Germany solely brought upon the world the late catastrophe, the responsibility controversy is useless and a waste of time. That attitude is neither a just nor a moral one. In proportion as Germany bears a responsibility which is not hers, other countries, their governments, and their statesmen are being relieved at her expense. But to shift guilt, of whatever extent, upon shoulders other than those to which it belongs is unmanly and cowardly. To every nation its reputation is precious, and to allow the character of any people to remain under an unmerited reproach is unmitigated turpitude.—FRANCIS BONNETT, distinguished English Publicist, author of *Europe's Only Hope* and *Truth—a Path to Justice and Reconciliation*.

Conclusions

WITH this chapter I conclude my recollections of this tragic period. I have felt it to be an obligation to my country and my friends to write down my personal experiences and the true story of the events in which I played a modest part in the world war. It is my conviction that when the truth is finally known as to that epoch, the American people will realize that in being led into the European cataclysm by Woodrow Wilson, they were the victims of the most shameless imposture in the world's history. I hold it, therefore, to be the solemn duty of every American who can shed any light on the causes and conduct of the war and our participation in it, to proclaim his knowledge.

I also believe it to be the duty of honest Americans to expose the mass of lies, misrepresentation and calumny by which our country was hoodwinked into taking part in the interest of a European Power in the most infamous war of all time. Whatever may be proven as to the sins of the criminals in the cabinets of other nations, the records are slowly disclosing that Wilson threw away many priceless opportunities, in the first place to prevent the war and later to bring it to an end, before four and a half years of blood and carnage had devastated Europe. There is no doubt that it was the President's indecision and his partiality to England which put negotiation or com-

promise out of the question, prolonged the struggle and finally brought about our active intervention. Although repeatedly appealed to, our President failed to make an honest or intelligent effort to maintain peace or bring the slaughter of mankind to an early conclusion. The crime of Wilson in taking a partisan side instead of adhering to his proclamation of neutrality, when for one moment he realized the historic mission of his country, can never be excused. Instead of announcing himself as the champion of the Neutral States while he had the confidence of all and was loudly protesting his neutrality, he became the humble bondman of England and abandoned the small Nations to their fate.

Let us consider the dictator's conduct to the European Neutrals after he attained his object of putting our country in the war. It will be remembered that he at once proposed to them to unite in suspending all trade relations with the Central Powers. In other words, from his post of safety 4,000 miles from the battlefield, he demanded from these small States that they should abandon their neutrality and run the risk of subjecting their territories to the invasion and devastation which had occurred in Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania. This proposition, which was really for the purpose of shifting a share of the burden of fighting to these unfortunate countries, was repudiated with indignation by them all. After that diplomatic failure, Wilson transferred a large measure of his anger to these neutrals who had defied his arrogance and his power. A policy of bulldozing, official blackmail and oppression was adopted by the State Department against these small states. Their merchant ships were appropriated and the cargoes containing food for their peoples and raw stuffs for their factories were seized. Their coal supply was reduced to a minimum and their private and commercial mail was stolen from the few ships that were still left in their control. But these outrages to which they were subjected by Wilson and his allies did not break the courage of these countries whose subjects in America at the same time were insulted by the fanatical mob, if they did not buy Liberty Bonds or if they refused to enlist in the National Army.

Such was the conduct of the apostle of Liberty and De-

mocracy to the Governments in Europe which had bravely and consistently adhered to neutrality—a neutrality which he had proclaimed to the world.

How much nobler would Wilson figure in history if he had remained honestly neutral, an arbiter and a just judge between the warring nations! He had the best possible opportunity to force a just peace early in the war by asserting with statesmanlike energy and courage our rights at sea.

Recent correspondence with Secretary of State Stimson shows that Wilson ignored the urgent telegram sent to the State Department by Ambassador Herrick on July 28 begging prompt action by the President in the interest of peace. When questioned a few months later by Herrick as to why he had not acted, Wilson denied, as in the case of the Secret Treaties,* that he had any knowledge of the subject, and declared that he had never seen the telegram. It has now been proved, however, that instead of acting in accordance with Herrick's suggestion to address an appeal to Europe, the President, after digesting the telegram for over four hours, disregarded it and cabled an inquiry to his pro-British friend Page in London as to whether his kind offices "would serve any high purpose." Of course, Grey, who was mainly responsible for the critical situation and who believed he had Germany by the throat, instructed Page to express his thanks to Wilson for his kind offices "if they could be used." Wilson's further efforts were belated and futile. Page cabled him again August 3, "There was not the slightest chance of any result if our good offices are offered at any European capital and that his judgment was confirmed at the British Foreign Office." Of course! The disappointing feature of this fruitless exchange of telegrams, whose laudable purpose was killed in London by Page and Grey, was that while the death of untold millions rested on the ambition or caprice of a few men, the American President failed ignominiously to issue, with the majestic power of the United States, a warning if not a threatening voice to the combatants. The voice of Grey determined his conduct. No wonder that Wilson was called the greatest living Englishman by a leading London newspaper.

* Appendix X.

In his trenchant analysis of Wilson's character Stewart E. Bruce in *The War Guilt and Peace Crime*, says: "Instead of acting the part of the world's greatest mediator, the high priest of America chose to be his country's greatest sacrificer. Instead of using his office and position in the spirit of fairness, impartiality, Christian charity, and forbearance, he became an uncompromising partisan of one group against the other. His own conscience, his heart and his brain, told him that the issues between the warring nations were not clean cut, they were not one-sided, that each was guilty. In the face of this he committed without stint or limit, and with but nebulous reservations the blood and treasure of America in common cause with despotic and barbarous Russia, assassin Serbia, revengeful France, cruel and pagan Japan and designing and envious Britain. These were the noble associates of America in her war for democracy. . . . Wilson allowed his countrymen to wax rich as a result of Europe's misfortunes, thereby creating a premium for the continuance of the war indefinitely. He employed his precious time in blowing meaningless word bubbles and watching them rise and float into thin air, before an admiring audience that applauded his acrobatic performances, and phrases as vapid as they were impotent."

It is also a humiliating reflection to recall that Wilson, "the great humanitarian," never raised his voice against the starvation of women and children nor the employment on the battlefields of Europe of a million black savages from Asia and Africa to fight against the most civilized branch of the white race.

Nor did he protest against the action of the American Red Cross when that institution, before we entered the war, violated its rules and refused to furnish medical supplies for the sick and wounded German soldiers, except with the permission of England.

Early in May, 1916, Professor Yandell Henderson of Yale, pointed out the criminal complaisancy of the Wilson administration to the violation of the principles of the Red Cross.

"The hypocrisy which has been the principal feature of Wilson and Lansing is shown by the fact that the British Gov-

ernment many days ago notified Washington that Red Cross supplies to Germany will not be passed hereafter. This virtually overthrows the Geneva convention and the Red Cross principle. I have seen the official notification circulated by the Red Cross. Yet our State Department has carefully suppressed the news, while Wilson has continued to talk "Humanity" and Germany's "breaches of International Law."

After we entered the war, the Red Cross abandoned all the accepted rules of its constitution and unashamed used its funds and its agents in the military interest of the allies. The President of the organization, a man named Davison (partner of J. P. Morgan, England's fiscal agent), absolutely prohibited the giving of aid to the German wounded by nurses and units of the Society.

Furthermore it is a shameful truth, now almost forgotten except by its living victims, that without authority from Congress Wilson at the request of the English sent 5,000 American soldiers to Archangel in August, 1918, to engage in an unprovoked war against the Russian people. He placed these troops under British command and kept them freezing, starving and fighting against his former allies for ten months after the armistice. This unwarrantable and inglorious expedition cost us 2,485 casualties of killed, wounded and sickened men and \$100,000,000 in treasure and it ended in mutiny, disaster and disgrace. Referring to this last warlike adventure of the American peace apostle, a veteran writes in his book *Archangel*, published by McClurg and Co., Chicago, p. 213:

"All enquiry concerning the expedition has been met by specious pleas in evasive avoidance. No peace was ever made with Russia as no state of war had ever been recognized, and the legalists might well contend, that all who engaged in it are open to indictment for manslaughter, for the enterprise will always remain a depraved one, with status of a freebooters' excursion."

A joint resolution providing for an enquiry, explanation and reparations which may be due from our country for the invasion of Russian territory in August, 1918, was introduced

in the United States Senate at the second session of the 66th Congress but was not reported from the Foreign Relations Committee. Is it any wonder that after the infamous treaty of Versailles was signed, the World's Peace Arch Priest and his fourteen points became "the theme of satire, doggerel and lampoon."

I was against the war from its outbreak. I firmly believed from my official knowledge and experience abroad that it was the result of a well considered plan of the Entente under the leadership of England to destroy German Commerce and German Power. I was convinced that the British propaganda of lies and misrepresentation had the definite object of involving my Country in the war and that such a catastrophe, in my judgment, would be contrary to her real interests and would cause untold loss in blood and treasure. As an officer of the State Department I favored an early peace through the mediation of my Government, and after my separation from the service, as a free citizen, I continued to be a spokesman for that goal. I was opposed to America's entrance and participation in the war for the reasons I have made clear in these memoirs. The revelations and official documents of recent years, confirmed by events, have amply justified the course I took and vindicated my honor from the venom and calumny cast upon me by the agents of Wilson and their pseudo-patriotic following in such organizations as the Creel Bureau and the American Security League.

While I was still in the Government service it became evident that my views did not meet with sympathy or approval from the authorities at Washington, so the demand for my resignation was not wholly unexpected. What did astonish me, however, was that the President's action was based on the ground that I was not neutral. The impudence of this suggestion may be more clearly judged from the fact that while the autocrat in the White House was making this false charge against me, he was tolerating the most flagrant unneutral conduct of his pro-English friend Page who represented him in London. And this man, an acknowledged faithless servant to his country's interests, was the medium through which the British Foreign Office made

known to Wilson that my continuation in the Consular Service was distasteful to His Majesty's Government.

Furthermore it has been disclosed that the President was actually scheming with House and Grey * in February, 1916, without the knowledge of his cabinet or Congress, to bring the United States into the war, although up to that time Germany had given no justification of any sort for such an action.

Professor G. P. Gooch, the noted English historian, who has been chosen by his Government as one of the editors of the British War Documents, says in regard to Page, in his latest book, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*: "Knowing little of American opinion and sharing the view of Kitchener and French that only entry of the United States could turn compromise into Victory, he became rather the interpreter of British views to Washington than the spokesman of the White House to Downing Street."

"No British opinion was too cheap," says Hartley Grattan in *Why We Fought*, "nor was any British lie too obvious for Walter Page to believe."

In concluding my reference to this Wilson diplomat I beg to quote the following extract from a penetrating analysis of his official conduct by Judge Bausman, an objective authority, who says: "Within a few months after war broke out, Page was as a man born on the banks of the Thames. Not one thing did he thereafter see except as an Englishman saw it. His prejudices were plain. He made no effort to conceal them. In fact he made it a duty to let every one, both at home and abroad, know that he had these prejudices. . . . *We should be in the war at once on the side of Great Britain.*" Such was the attitude of the American Ambassador in London, while our government was supposed to be neutral.

It is not surprising then that in recognition of his services to the "Motherland" Page's hosts of English friends have installed in his honor a tablet in Westminster Abbey, to commemorate his loyalty and fidelity to England's cause in her hour of danger.

Our country sacrificed nearly 100,000 lives and a quarter of a million maimed and diseased in carrying out the Wilsonian

* Memorandum: House-Grey-Wilson, February 22, 1916.

doctrine of force to the limit in the interest of a European power which had violated every principle of maritime law, and as a reward for the sacrifice of blood and outlay of treasure our noble allies in the Peace settlement refused us the Island of Yap.

The world's casualties numbered over ten million killed and thirty million wounded and diseased. Humanity would have been spared this holocaust if Woodrow Wilson had shown the qualities of a statesman, instead of the egomania of a phrase-maker. He was the most complete and tragic failure of the World War, and his adventure in Europe according to the statement of the U. S. Treasury cost the American people Sixty-two Billion Dollars.

The War-Guilt Lie

WITH a few exceptions, which only prove the rule, the newspaper publishers refuse to have the war-guilt question, in any manner, discussed. They know that the official version can no longer be sustained, but they refuse to admit it, since they backed it and would now have to concede that they were made fools of. They sit upon the bushel, under which they have placed the Truth, and gaze into vacant space when anyone talks to them about it. Their readers are not aware that there is a war-guilt question and are no better informed about the true causes of the awful event, which was enacted before their eyes and at their expense, than the Patagonians. In this respect there is no difference between the conservative and the so-called radical press. The Holy Alliance against the Truth continues, and its password is Silence.

GEORGES DEMARTIAL,

Officer of Legion of Honor of France.

THE problem who was responsible for the war, is the greatest apple of discord, not only today but as regards the future, and the greatest source of the danger for future wars among the nations. It is not a purely historical question, but a question of morality and conscience of all mankind. We shall obtain no peace until the terrible accusation against Germany is decided according to juridicial principles or is finally erased from the tablets of history.

GOUTTENORE DE TOURY,

French Cavalry Officer Throughout the War.

And what of the Future! The public opinion of the world has been so appalled by the war that there is great agitation everywhere in favor of peace. Our country has taken a leading

part in this movement and manifested its support for the cause by framing and adopting different treaties, which have been approved by most civilized countries. All these American Treaties and other projects like the League of Nations, The World Court, Locarno, Hague Accords, Disarmament—Naval and Military—appear to be based on the idea of the maintenance of the status quo as established by the Versailles Treaty. On the face of it, they are ingeniously conceived devices for the affirming and guaranteeing of all its criminal injustices.*

The greatest impediments, however, toward bridging over the gulf created by the war and forming a true reconciliation between the defeated Nations and their former enemies, are the punitive provisions of that treaty, and the false verdict of sole guilt, so arbitrarily passed upon the Germanic Powers.

The most infamous crime recorded in modern history is the war-guilt lie in the Versailles Treaty.

It was formulated by Clemenceau, the French tiger, the English demagogue, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson, as the representative of the United States. The commission deputized to investigate the origin of the World War, dominated by these Three, unanimously rendered the verdict that the German army suddenly attacked Russia, France and England, unprepared for this onslaught, and that the German nation had thus provoked and is solely responsible for the World War.

This atrocious lie constitutes the logical conclusion of the concerted action, organized and maintained for many years by the international conspirators whose obsession was the subjugation and destruction—not of the German Empire, but of the Germans wherever found striving for a place in the sun.

The propensity of every criminal is, of course, to cover the traces of his guilt, preferably by implicating the victim.

The German people would probably have forever to bear the stigma of having caused the World War, if its consequences had not by far surpassed the anticipations of its instigators.

* See articles X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI of the Covenant of the League which declare that all members must pledge themselves to acknowledge and defend the present boundaries of Europe and those outside Europe, as fixed by the Peace Treaties.

The Allies, through the inhuman hunger blockade of Germany, had murdered women and children, the old and the invalid by the hundreds of thousands. They had menaced the disarmed and starving people with all imaginable cruelties. Finally, after Count Brockdorf-Rantzau and his colleagues had refused to sign the admission of guilt, they succeeded in extorting from the representatives of the revolutionary government, then in session in Weimar, the signature to the Versailles Treaty.

The war-guilt liars did not then anticipate that the Russian secret archives would be forcibly opened through the revolutionary upheavals and glaringly expose their guilt. Their lie of Germany's war-guilt furnished the only pretext and excuse for the ruinous robberies and humiliations to which the German people were subjected by the perpetrators of this unheard of "peace." The annexation of German provinces and colonies to the territory of racially heterogeneous and inimical peoples; the forcibly taking away the direct necessities of existence in Germany by the French, causing a fearful mortality and a physical degeneration of the children, through the lack of food and warmth; the driving away of tens of thousands of milch-cows, while babies died en masse for want of milk; the imposition on the impoverished German people of fantastic amounts for "reparations" and "indemnities," when the industries were ruined and the number of suicides caused by want increased alarmingly, the occupation of German territory by tens of thousands of vicious African blacks; the brutalities, cruelties and humiliations constantly committed against the German people—all these atrocities were justified by the war-guilt liars as punishment against the Germans for being responsible for this cruel war and its terrible consequences.

As long as this verdict is recognized by the Entente Governments as the foundation stone of the Versailles Treaty, it is hopeless to expect that there will be a moral and spiritual disarmament of the eighty millions of German blood who live in the Central States of Europe. The injustices and fatuities of this treaty will be an inspiration and an incitement to the generations of that race still unborn. These injustices are too flagrant to be condoned or forgotten, the more particularly because they

are in gross violation of the fourteen points upon which the Germans laid down their arms.

The Versailles Treaty was built on the foundations of falsehood, vengeance, fear, suspicion, and hatred, and, therefore, must be revised before the different peace plans can be of any ethical or practical value. The League of Nations, World Court, Kellogg Pacts, Locarno, Outlawry of War, Hague Accords, etc., will prove futile for the maintenance of a permanent peace unless in the first instance the moral disarmament of the peoples is accomplished. This can only be attained by a rectification of those clauses in the Versailles Treaty and in the minor treaties which followed it, which are opposed to the Truth, to common sense and international justice.

In a recent address on the Young Plan, the Hon. Louis T. McFadden, of Pennsylvania, an expert on international finance, and chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, declared as follows:

IF the Treaty of Versailles and the subsequent agreements pursuant to it are in fact invalid and founded upon falsity, all Europe might at some future date join Germany in a demand for their abrogation and for repudiation of the financial obligations to America imposed by them. The United States, to protect its financial interests, would have to stand upon morally indefensible ground.

The gravity of the present juncture lies in the fact that *the Treaty of Versailles was in reality illegally imposed* and that the Germans are aware of this and have no moral doubt of it. There is undoubtedly a deep sense of moral outrage among the informed classes in Germany that the German government has never been permitted at any conference to discuss the "juridical" questions which they know to be pertinent, and in a more vague way the German masses knew that Germany was enslaved through allied bad faith. During the ten years' time the war psychology in Europe has not been mollified; its expression only has been suppressed. The statements in the report of the Young committee that war hatreds have been dissipated and that a peaceful understanding has been attained are knowingly false and are dangerously misleading.

The reasons why the Treaty of Versailles is illegitimate and not binding upon Germany are that under international law the provisions of a definitive treaty of peace are legitimate only if they remain within the scope of the preliminary agreement which brought hostilities to an end. This the Treaty of Versailles did not do. In the exercise of bad faith the Allied states, after inducing Germany to disarm, varied

the terms of the preliminary agreement by force to the prejudice of the German state.

The Germans have all the necessary evidence of this fact, evidence that would be sufficient, and overwhelmingly convincing in any unprejudiced court. But they are not permitted to bring it forward, for it would make the rehabilitation of Europe through the sale of Young Plan reparation bonds in America an impossibility. They are too weak at present to secure a hearing, for to insist would bring upon them a reopening of the war hatred, and expressing itself in new acts of Allied aggression. But they know that they are not morally obligated to sustain the burden of paying reparation annuities under the Young Plan, and they will assert the illegality of these burdens at the earliest moment that they can make their voice heard.

Now let us consider how the American Government has become involved and its relation to the problem of War Guilt, and reparations. The responsibility of the American Government arises from the fact that President Wilson appointed the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, and Dr. James Brown Scott * to represent the United States on the Entente Commission of fifteen which condemned the Central Powers of being solely responsible for the war and for all losses and damages which the allies and associated government suffered. Lansing was not only Chairman of this Partisan Judicial Tribunal but also a plenipotentiary commissioner to negotiate peace, and Scott was a technical delegate of our Government to the Conference, so there can be no question as to their official status.

On March 29, 1921, the American Government made its first official declaration on the war guilt question in a note concerning reparations addressed to the German Minister of foreign affairs containing the following statement:

"THIS Government stands with the Governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation so far as may be possible."

Furthermore, the peace treaty between the United States and Germany, signed November 14, 1921, confirmed this attitude by making Article CCXXXI of the Versailles Treaty an integral part of our treaty, as is apparent from Article II, Part I of our treaty, which reads:

"With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article, with respect to certain provisions

* See Appendix X.

in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

"(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section 1 of Part LV, and Parts V, VI, VIII (1), IX, X, XI, XII, XIV and XV."

The preamble of Part VIII dealing with war guilt, to which the treaty specifically refers, is the objectionable Article 231.

The revelations of recent years have disclosed that the American delegates on the Commission of Fifteen were particularly active in bringing about the decision and are credited with having drafted its report. This verdict, as now admitted, was based upon insufficient evidence, suppression of the truth, false testimony and, in part, fraudulent and forged documents, and is now repudiated by all reputable historians. During his lifetime, Lansing was repeatedly challenged to defend his verdict in the light of the new evidence, but he remained silent. Similar efforts have been made in the case of Dr. Scott, without result. During the summer of 1928, the faculty of Heidelberg University addressed a note to Dr. Scott asking him if he still adhered to his original judgment in the light of the new evidence and official material. Dr. Scott replied that as he was the representative of the American Government at the time the decision was rendered he could not withdraw or modify his verdict, so long as his government had not changed its attitude on the subject. Scott, therefore, puts the matter definitely up to the American Government of today, which is fortunately not laboring under the influence of the myths, hysteria and prejudices of the Wilson administration. It shows, however, how necessary it is in the cause of justice, fair play, and historical truth, that this question be no longer deferred.

It is axiomatic that no case can honestly be decided upon false or prejudiced testimony and without hearing the other side. At no time during the sessions of the Commission did Lansing or Scott, Wilson's representatives, propose that the Germans be heard nor did they seek information or evidence in their behalf from a single authorized person.

In an article from my pen which first appeared in the *Progressive Magazine*, April, 1928, I discussed the Commission and exposed the partisan conduct of Lansing and Scott. I sup-

plied them both with copies and an assurance that any explanation or reply they cared to offer would receive equal publicity. Neither accepted the challenge nor from any other source have my statements been questioned.

The latest decisive judgment on the guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles has been passed by the eminent American historian, Professor Sidney Bradshaw Fay, in his great work, *The Origins of the World War*, and reads as follows:

"ONE must abandon the dictum of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were solely responsible. It was a dictum exacted by victors from vanquished, under the influence of blindness, ignorance, hatred and the propagandist misconceptions to which war had given rise. It was based upon evidence which was incomplete, and not always sound. It is generally recognized by the best historical scholars in all countries to be no longer tenable or defensible.

Furthermore, Professor Charles A. Beard, the noted author of *The Rise of American Civilization*, writes in the January (1929) issue of *Harper's*:

"Not a single outstanding scholar among the Allies and Associated Powers, Renouvin, Fabre Luce, Gooch, Fay, for example, who has examined the evidence in the case, believes in the Paris Doctrine that the Central Powers and their Allies must bear the sole responsibility for plunging Europe into hell.

"Moreover, actors in the drama, such as Grey, Lloyd George, and Poincaré, now openly say that the war had its roots in ancient rivalries in which all the belligerents participated."

Professor Alberto Lumbroso, the distinguished Italian author, in his recent history, *The Economic and Diplomatic Origins of the World War*, says:

"A DECADE has been sufficient to destroy the legend that Germany had caused the war for which she had been preparing for forty years, a war against a peaceful, unprepared and innocent Entente. There does not exist a serious historian who today has not entirely changed his original opinion as to the origin and responsibility of the war."

The well-known British historian, Professor Charles Raymond Beazley, of the University of Birmingham, England, has recently concluded a series of articles on war guilt, with the following judgment: *American Monthly*, March, 1930.

WAS not, therefore, the Versailles verdict on war responsibility passed under the influence of the most fierce and blind war-passion—ill-informed, scorning enlightenment, listening unwillingly to any teaching but that of propaganda? Was it not based upon evidence which

was often incomplete and unsound? Was it not in fact a parody of a careful verdict—of a reasoned and well-grounded indictment? Is it not generally recognized by the best historical scholars in most countries (as even by Renouvin in France), to be no longer maintainable?

Even Premier Mussolini of Italy is now suggesting a revision of the Versailles Treaty, as an essential prelude to a union of European states. When Mussolini made this pronouncement, Senator William E. Borah, Republican of Idaho and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had this to say:

"I have said many times that there will have to be a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and kindred treaties before there can be anything but armed peace in Europe. Naturally, therefore, I am quite in sympathy with the views of Premier Mussolini. The fact is that M. Briand's proposal for a United States of Europe has for its fundamental and basic principle keeping intact the War treaties. There never will be a United States of Europe on any such principles, in my judgment."

Hundreds of similar opinions from European and American statesmen, scholars and publicists are available and have been published in three languages in a special volume.

In the well-known magazine, *The World Tomorrow*, of October, 1929, there is a remarkable article by the eminent publicist Kirby Page in which he asks the question upon what moral foundation does the payment of any reparation rest. He says:

"ARTICLE 231 of the Treaty of Versailles and the notes handed to the German Delegates by the Presidents of the Peace Conference in which the sole guilt of Germany for the war was stated and reiterated, these are the corner stones of reparation. I have recently gone over again the Allies' notes and am amazed at the boldness of the statement that Germany was solely responsible for the war; that she plotted and planned the conflict and chose the time for her attack upon her neighbors, with *world domination* as her goal. This thesis of the sole guilt of Germany has, however, been completely exploded by the Allied and neutral historians, by Fay, Barnes, Gooch, Renouvin and a hundred other students of the documentary evidence. Why then should Germany pay reparations at all! This is what the Germans are asking in tones that will not be denied an answer. Because of damage done to Belgium and France. Then the Allies should honor counter claims for damage done in East Prussia and the whole German population by the illegal blockade clamped upon them throughout the war."

When we consider the practically unanimous judgment of the world's leading expert authorities that Germany was in no

sense solely responsible for the war, why, I venture to ask, should the chief cost of the calamity be imposed on that power, particularly after depriving her of her colonies and some of her most valuable and productive provinces.

The eminent and courageous publicist, Professor Charles Austin Beard, heretofore quoted, has recently said:

"THE advocate of debt cancellation, foreign and domestic, might as well learn once for all that the American people are not boobs in matters of European history; that in magazines, newspapers, scholastic journals, classrooms, shops, railway trains and fields the question of war responsibility is being debated with understanding and zeal; that while some may lean one way and some another, no one can revive the stinking corpse of war propaganda; that nobody who has read the new diplomatic materials believes that England, France and Russia were innocent in the long preparations that led to this war or in the negotiations that precipitated it; that the names of the parties who grabbed the spoils at the council table of Versailles are well known, and that to ask the United States to pay one penny more on the score of sacrificial obligation is nothing short of laughable."

In view of the fact, therefore, that the thesis of German sole guilt is no longer seriously maintained, and as it is now generally admitted that the Allies had an equal if not a greater share of responsibility for the war's origin, could not a fair and reasonable solution of the reparation difficulty be obtained by pooling the debts and by making an equitable division of all these international claims?

Professor Beard is quite right in his opposition to cancellation of the Allied debts, but he would, undoubtedly, favor a plan for their further reduction if Germany received similar consideration from her Entente creditors.

Our country would serve the cause of peace, justice, and historical truth by presenting such a proposal to the allies.

No informed person believes that the Young Plan is going to settle the Reparation questions or that Germany will continue for sixty years to make these unjust payments.

Every intelligent man with any degree of common sense and historical knowledge knows that so long as the Versailles

Treaty * remains unrevised on the world's statutes it will be a constant source of discord, ill feeling and strife in the world.

If our government desires seriously to contribute to the tranquillity and stability of Europe, let it make known that it favors a revision of the punitive clauses of that Treaty and announces its willingness to cooperate with any debt arrangement, by proportionately reducing its claims on all its European debtors. President Hoover, therefore, should seize the first opportunity to call a conference of the Powers concerned for the purpose of considering a just permanent and honest settlement of the entire international debt problem. The ostrich policy heretofore followed deceives nobody and serves no good purpose.

I repeat again that a true reconciliation of the peoples, and their moral disarmament is impossible so long as the spirit of injustice prevails in our own and the entente cabinets and the sanctions of the Versailles treaty based on a lie continue to be the foundation stone of the existing European order.

Is not the writing plainly shadowed on the wall, that all our well-meant efforts exemplified by Kellogg pacts and Disarmament Conferences will prove futile and ineffectual unless a radical change of policy is soon adopted? Otherwise we may find ourselves on the way to future wars under the banner of Peace.†

* Article XIX of the Covenant of the League of Nations expressly states that Treaties which may become inapplicable may be altered. It reads:

"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

† Appendix XII.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A SHORT time after peace was declared Sir Arthur Nicolson was elevated to the peerage as Lord Carnock. He died in 1929 and his son Harold has recently published an able biography of his father. We learn from this memoir that, though he was one of the chief diplomatic antagonists of Germany before the war, he greatly disliked the conduct of the war itself, hating the blockade, the spy hunting mania and the excesses of propaganda. He approved Lord Lansdowne's peace proposal and expressed his disgust with the Versailles Treaty, especially with the paragraphs attributing sole guilt to Germany."

Following closely on the revelations contained in Lord Carnock's biography the Countess of Warwick, in an article which appeared in the English press and the New York *American* of May 4, 1930, has made the following statement which has created grave unrest in England. The Countess explains that she had heretofore suppressed the information contained therein, in deference to the request of her publisher, who said it would place British policy in an unfavorable light, but that after the frank revelations of Lord Carnock there was no reason why everybody should not know all about it.

"Four years before the outbreak of the war," said the Countess, "Lord French, knowing my friendly relations with Clemenceau, asked me to arrange a meeting with the distinguished Frenchman. The meeting was fixed and the three of us met in Clemenceau's room. I heard the entire conversation. Clemenceau was all for demanding information as to what Britain would do when war with Germany came. General French spoke nervously about our putting into the field an army of 400,000 men.

"Clemenceau was disdainful. He said the number would have to be at least a million, or the French public would regard Anglo-French friendship as a mere sentimental fabric.

"Clemenceau took out maps and they talked war, war, war. . . . I walked to the window, thinking the talk about war was absurd; but I heard Clemenceau say:

"*'The British landing would be at Dunkirk and the British troops would march through Belgium into Germany.'*

"But General French was dubious.

"*'What about our treaty with Belgium?'*" he asked.

"Very testily Clemenceau made his retort:

"*'Treaties do not matter when it comes to war!'*"

"The conversation was private, but afterward I wrote to King Edward, who was my friend, about it.

"But for years I bottled it up within myself, even at the time when 'Poor Little Belgium' talk was being used to lure thousands of poor boys to their deaths.

"Last year I thought the time had come for it to be published; but out of respect to the feelings of my publisher I refrained and allowed him to add a line that some of it had been censored.

"I can confirm what has already been printed by Lord Carnock, and it is my duty to speak up.

"Voices are saying that we should stand by France again for this and for that. History is turning again through its own dreadful cycle.

"In my opinion not a single word that might avert such dreadful treaties should remain a secret for a single second—and so I am speaking out."



APPENDIX II

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

THE drive for funds of the American Red Cross in New York again betokened the survival of the spirit of the late Henry P. Davison in that organization, for it will be remembered that Davison, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan, assumed the command of the American Red Cross during the war and impressed the militant stamp upon the great Geneva society which it has borne ever since.

Its radical break with the universal principles on which the Red Cross was founded dates from that event. The American Red Cross became simply a unit of the military power of the Allies. It observed the rules of humanity and universal charity neither during the war nor after.

Let us briefly survey the aims and principles of the Red Cross Society. The first impetus for its establishment came from a Swiss gentleman who, while aiding the medical forces in 1859 in the Italian army, was much impressed by the needless sufferings of the sick and wounded. He published a book advocating the idea of pledging all nations to regard as neutrals the sick and wounded in wartime and of a universal society to care for disabled soldiers.

Cordial support was accorded his suggestions and he secured the cooperation of the Swiss government. An international conference to devise plans for the alleviation of suffering during the wars was called to take place in Geneva in October, 1863, at which 16 nations were

represented. Another conference convened in 1864, and nine "articles for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armies in the field" were signed. In 1868 the regulations were adopted for naval warfare. The society was given the privilege of neutrals, *and all patients under its care have a similar privilege and are treated alike.*

The American Red Cross was formed by Clara Barton, and at her instigation the operations of the society were extended to distress incidental to great calamities, such as *famine*, pestilence, flood and fire.

The Red Cross, then, is a universal neutral charitable, benevolent and humane society, which makes no distinction between friend and foe in relieving the sick and wounded on the battlefield, at sea or in regions stricken with famine or pestilence.

But how has this great historic inheritance been administered in American hands?

Early in May, 1916, Professor Yandell Henderson of Yale pointed out the criminal complacency of the Wilson administration to the violation of the principles of the Red Cross in these words:

"The hypocrisy which has been the principal feature of Wilson and Lansing is shown by the fact that the British government many days ago notified Washington that Red Cross supplies to Germany will not be passed hereafter. This virtually overthrows the Geneva convention and the Red Cross principle. I have myself seen the official notification circulated by the Red Cross. Yet our State Department has carefully suppressed the news while Wilson has continued to talk 'humanity' and Germany's breaches of international law."

Wilson and Lansing were thus sponsoring Davison who had declared that none of the funds subscribed for the American Red Cross would be used to succor or relieve German wounded, but that the society was a part of the military forces of the Allies.

An appeal was made to former President Taft, chairman of the executive committee of the American Red Cross, to protest to England against the prohibition of medical supplies to Germany. He refused to act.

The millions of dollars contributed by charitable Americans to the Red Cross to relieve the sufferings of the wounded on the battlefields—neutrals under the Geneva convention—was used to keep the French and Italians on the battle lines when they were ready to give up the struggle, thus adding to the bloodshed instead of checking it.

On this subject we have a material witness, aside from newspaper men who investigated the criminal misuse of these sacred trust funds and published the facts. This witness is the Deputy Controller of the National Red Cross, giving testimony in the Nagler case in Wisconsin. We quote from an article by Ellen Torelle Nagler, "A Fragment of War History," which appeared in the *Nation* of November 18, 1925:

"Other testimony on behalf of the defendant was befogged by the interjection of long dissertations on the activities of the Red Cross

and of the Y.M.C.A. While these dissertations had no bearing on the case as testimony they were interesting to the student of history. The Deputy Controller of the National Red Cross Society testified that Italy would have been lost to the Allies without the intervention of the Red Cross Society. 'We went into Italy,' he said, 'after the first German drive and organized the country for war against Austria. After that we kept Italy in the war by the establishment of soup kitchens, "colony" formation, and the distribution of men and money to each and every hamlet and town throughout the land. This work,' he continued, 'won for us the praise of the King of Italy and the War Premier, and it has been continued on an increased scale to the present time.'

This testimony was a revelation to the thoughtful of the real function of the Red Cross. Its activities have been commonly understood to be limited to the relief of human suffering, but *this national administrative officer of the society testified under oath that its chief function was to precede the armies into a country (Italy, in this instance), to organize the country for war, and then to keep the country fighting.*

The significance of his statement that the American Red Cross Society also made Great Britain's occupancy of Mesopotamia possible was lost upon the greater number of persons present. Today a knowledge of the presence of rich oil-fields there is general.

The great work of relieving the starvation in Germany following the inhuman blockade of Germany by Great Britain, after the armistice, fell to the lot of the American Quakers. The American Red Cross adhered to its policy of obdurate silence, inactivity and anti-German militancy.

Here is a concrete example of the last statement:

During the week of November 9 a motion picture was shown at a leading Broadway picture house entitled "The New Commandment." German bombing planes were shown showering explosives on Red Cross hospitals in France. A German officer is presented in a scene in which he expresses regret but pleads necessity for bombing the hospitals.

While this performance was going on, at the door of the theater Red Cross nurses were busy soliciting funds for the American Red Cross. The connection was obvious.

The picture bore evidence of having been made in Paris. In the lobby were displayed screaming posters, illustrating some of the scenes shown on the screen within. Altogether the impression was created that this picture was being exhibited for the specific purpose of supporting the efforts of the Red Cross management to replenish its funds.

Such evidence could be indefinitely multiplied. Enough has been set forth to justify the demand that the administration of the National Red Cross, in justice to its supporters, give an account of its work, and that it answer the questions:

1. If its funds were used to keep Italian and French armies in the war, or misapplied in other directions, in violation of the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention.

2. If it disregarded the ethics and rules of the Red Cross Society before, during or after the war.

3. If it discriminates in the bestowal of its blessings against the sick and wounded of certain nations and has ceased to regard them as neutrals.

4. How its funds are being disbursed, and under what rules and regulations.

5. If it has any connection with the present-day anti-German propaganda as manifested by such instances as Red Cross nurses soliciting funds in the lobbies of theaters wherein are shown alleged acts of violence to Red Cross hospitals by German aviators or other exhibitions of alleged German atrocities.

The proper place for an investigation of the American Red Cross is Congress.—*The Progressive Magazine*.



APPENDIX III

TWO THRONES ESCAPED HIM

BAVARIAN CROWN SEEMED ALMOST IN RUPPRECHT'S GRASP BUT THAT
OF BRITAIN WAS MERE DREAM

(Special Correspondence of The World.)

LONDON, Dec. 1.—However remote are his chances, however attenuated his claims, a "Pretender" to the British throne still exists.

By the passing away of Louis, former King of Bavaria, former Crown Prince Rupprecht, who figured largely in the war, succeeds to whatever prerogatives, rights and dignities his father may have left.

Rupprecht is of some interest to Englishmen as the senior representative of the royal house of Stuart. In pre-war days, whatever now is the case, there was still a remnant of Jacobites, though a very diminutive one, who looked upon Prince Rupprecht's mother, Mary, the late Queen of Bavaria, as the rightful sovereign of these islands, representing Henrietta Anne, the youngest daughter of Charles I.

Henrietta Anne was the first wife of Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV of France. Their daughter, Anne Mary, married Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who became King of Sardinia. They had a son, Charles Emmanuel, and he had a son, another Victor Amadeus, who was the father of Victor Emmanuel I, who on the death, in 1807, of Henry Benedict, Cardinal York (Henry IX of Great Britain according to the "faithful"), as the next heir of the royal line, succeeded to all the Cardinal's rights.

However, neither he nor his descendants ever put in any claim for the British throne. His daughter, Mary, married Francis, Duke of Modena. They had a son Ferdinand, who became the father of Mary Theresa, Queen of Bavaria, the mother of Prince Theresa, Queen of Bavaria, the mother of Prince Rupprecht, who thus is the ninth in descent from King Charles.



APPENDIX IV

A BOOK has been recently published by Carl Hosse entitled, "Die Englisch-belgischen Aufmarschpläne gegen Deutschland vor dem Weltkriege," Amalthea-Verlag, Wien. It is a complete military study of the Anglo-Belgian conventions during the decade preceding the war, with photographic copies of the joint military plans as approved by the general staffs of both countries. This work has created a sensation as it clearly and conclusively proves that Belgium had forfeited her right to neutrality previous to the German invasion.

Extracts from the official dispatches sent to the Belgium Foreign Offices by their diplomatic representatives at London, Berlin, Paris, and opinions of the Belgian Foreign Minister in 1912-1913 show the attitude of

BELGIAN DIPLOMATS BEFORE THE WAR

I. ON ENGLISH HATRED

"The real cause of the Englishmen's hatred of Germany is jealousy. . . . The highest ambition of Emperor William is the maintenance of peace during his reign."

BARON GREINDL, 1905

"Wherever England is able to create difficulties for Germany, it takes immediate advantage of the opportunity."

COUNT URSEL, 1905

"Should England one day attack Germany in order to rid itself of a rival, it would thereby merely be acting according to its old principles."

BARON GREINDL, 1905

"There can be no doubt that it was the King of England (*Edward VII*) who inspired the warlike policies of M. Delcassé. Did any doubt exist this would be dissipated by the remarkable negotiations of Col. Barnardiston with General Ducarne. (*Regarding the landing of an English expeditionary army in Belgium in the event of war.*)

BARON GREINDL, 1906

"The entire force of English diplomacy is devoted to the isolation of Germany."

DE CARTIER, 1907

"The anti-German feeling in England, which is induced by fear and jealousy, and which I have often had the honor of describing to you, has not abated in any degree."

COUNT LALAING, 1907

"This enthusiasm for uniting for alleged purposes of defence powers which nobody threatens (Spain, Italy) must in full justice appear suspicious. The offer of a hundred thousand men made by the King of England to M. Delcassé has not been forgotten in Berlin. We ourselves have to record the peculiar overtures made by Colonel Barnardiston to General Ducarne, and who knows if there have not been other intrigues which have not come to our ears."

BARON GREINDL, 1907

II. FRENCH PRESUMPTION

"French presumption is once more becoming as conspicuous as in the worst days of the Second Empire, and the Entente Cordiale is to blame for this—this presumption has in fact grown still greater since the negotiations between London and St. Petersburg appear to be leading up to an Entente."

BARON GREINDL, 1907

"What has happened in Brussels, in Berlin and in Copenhagen is perhaps not an isolated instance. France very likely has elsewhere taken up its old methods of not carrying about any obligation which appears onerous to it and of having its way everywhere. The policy which King Edward VII carries on under the pretext of rescuing Europe from an imaginary German danger, has produced a far too actual *French danger*, which is a most immediate menace to us." (Belgium.)

BARON GREINDL, 1908

"The diligence which he (the departing English ambassador at Berlin) developed in doing away with misunderstandings, was not in accordance with the political views of his sovereign."

BARON GREINDL, 1908

III. THE YELLOW PRESS

"I ask myself if this demonstrative excitement about Germany is quite sincere. Is it not rather a continuation of the campaign of

calumny which has been carried on for years in the press of Paris, London and St. Petersburg?"

BARON GREINDL, 1907

"A certain category of the press, known here by the name of the 'yellow press,' is chiefly responsible for the hostile feeling between the two nations (England and Germany). What is to be expected of a journalist like Lord Northcliffe, publisher of the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Express*, the *Evening News* and *Weekly Dispatch*, who declared in an interview in *Le Matin*: 'Yes, we hate the Germans and with all our heart. I will not agree to my papers publishing the slightest thing that could offend France.' This kind of journalist falsifies the opinion of an entire nation, according to his own likes or dislikes."

COUNT LALAING, 1907

"It is clear that official England is pursuing an anti-German policy which aims at the isolation of Germany and that King Edward has not been ashamed to use his personal influence in the service of this idea. It is very dangerous to poison public opinion in so open a manner as is being done by the irresponsible press."

COUNT LALAING, 1907

"And it is not only the cheap newspapers which degrade themselves to such a rôle. The *Times* has been carrying on a campaign of vilification and lies for years."

BARON GREINDL, 1907

"PEACE ASSURANCES"

1907-1908

"England sows dissension in that it seeks to force upon The Hague conference, *not* the discussion of its own disarmament, but that of its neighbors, thus bringing about a diminishing of the security of Europe."

BARON GREINDL, 1907

"The traditional assurances of peaceableness mean very little in the mouths of three powers who, like Russia and England, without a plausible pretext and merely in the endeavor to enlarge their territory, have carried on wars of conquest in Manchuria and the Transvaal, or who, like France, at this very moment, are proceeding to conquer Morocco after disregarding all solemn promises, and without any other semblance of right than the assumption of the rights of England, which this country never really enjoyed. These are the same powers who, in conjunction with the United States which had

hardly finished their war of robbery against Spain, now pose as ultra-pacifists at The Hague."

BARON GREINDL, 1908

"ATTEMPTS TO DRAG US IN"

1911

"The intentions of England are also proved by the *demarche* which Sir A. Hardinge (the English minister at Brussels) made to you (the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs) in the attempt to *drag us in*."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"The English plan of supporting France by an expeditionary corps in the event of a war with Germany, is not surprising. It is merely the continuation of the peculiar proposals which were made to General Ducarne some years ago by Colonel Bardnardiston."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"ENGLAND AND HER WORK"

1911

"The Entente has aroused the idea of *revanche* to a new lease of life in France and is therefore to blame for that condition of unrest in which Europe finds itself since five years."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"England, which has pushed France into the Moroccan morass, regards her work with self-satisfaction."

BARON GUILLAUME, *Belgian Am. in Paris*, 1911

"For a long time past one must have lost all one's illusions with regard to the value of the Algeciras Acts. France *signed* these with the firm intention of *never respecting* them."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"One cannot forget that the always correct speech of M. Pinchon is, without exception, directly contrary to his acts."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"Some of my colleagues are astonished at the patience of Germany."

BARON GREINDL, 1911

"The chances of coming to an understanding with Germany will be considerably less if England takes part in the conversations."

BARON GUILLAUME, 1911

"M. ISWOLSKY"
1912-1913

"The French ambassador has frequently told me that the greatest danger for the preservation of European peace is to be found in the undisciplinedness and in the personal politics of the Russian representatives abroad . . . they must bear the chief responsibility for the present happenings."

BARON BEYENS, *Belgian Foreign Minister*, 1912

"One might regard the immediate future with considerable assurance, were it not for the Pan-Slavist sentiment and those who foment it."

BARON BEYEN, 1912

"There can be no doubt that the Kaiser, the Chancellor (Bethmann-Hollweg) and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs are *passionate adherents of peace*."

BARON BEYENS, close of 1912

"In a communicative moment the French Ambassador at Berlin revealed to me how difficult it was to count upon the highly-gifted but changeable politicians who lead the affairs of that empire with which France is in alliance. . . . M. Cambon complained in particular of the influences which M. Iswolsky, who wishes to take a personal revenge upon Austria-Hungary, has retained."

BARON BEYENS, 1913

"There is no doubt that Paris has grown tired of these tricks and dodges, but one endures, though it be with execrations, the consequences of the alliance, and permits oneself to be forced more and more upon a course which *may lead to a general war*."

BARON BEYENS, 1913

"The Serbian *chargé d'affaires* here said recently that his government would not have gone ahead for over 6 months without concerning itself about the Austrian threat *had it not been encouraged thereto* by the Russian Ambassador, M. von Hartwig, a diplomat of the school of M. Iswolsky. One must concede that events so far have justified the boldness and the impudence of the Belgrade Cabinet."

BARON BEYENS, 1913

"M. POINCARÉ"
1913

"M. Poincaré is a native of Lothringen and misses no opportunity to remind us of it; he was co-worker with and inspirer of Millerand's military policy."

BARON GUILLAUME, 1913

"In the restless times in which Europe finds itself, the danger of M. Poincaré's presence at the Elysée must be considered here. For under his administration the military and rather chauvinistic instincts of the French people have been awakened. His hand is to be traced in this change."

BARON GUILLAUME, 1913

"These facts will prove beyond doubt that public opinion in France is becoming more and more chauvinistic and reckless."

BARON GUILLAUME, 1913

"The burdens of this law (the new French military law) will be so heavy for the populace, the expenses so monstrous, that the country will soon protest and France will be confronted by the question, either to renounce—a thing it cannot endure—or *shortly to carry on a war*. A heavy responsibility will weigh upon those men who have brought the nation to such a pass."

BARON GUILLAUME, 1913



APPENDIX V

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

HOW THE BLACK TROOPS WERE RECRUITED BY FRANCE TO FIGHT FOR "LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY" IN THE WORLD WAR

IN an action for libel brought by Monsieur Diagne, Senegalese Deputy, in Paris, Monsieur Diagne gave evidence in regard to the ruthless methods adopted to recruit black soldiers for the French army, during the great war, methods which caused constant revolts.

The New York *Sun* of November 28th, 1924, in the cable report of the trial has the following: "It wasn't recruiting," testified M. Diagne, "but man hunting. The villagers were surrounded and all who couldn't escape into the Bush, were sent to the Yser and the Marne."

Brunet, former Governor of the Sudan, and now a Deputy, who accompanied the Diagne mission, testified that in 1917 the Governor of Senegal asked the French Government for 15,000 *Asphyxiating Grenades*, and an equal number of *Hand Tear Grenades*, and four Bombardment Airplanes, together with white troops to be sent him to assist recruiting the blacks.

APPENDIX VI

ASTOUNDING AMERICAN REVELATIONS

FAKING PRO-GERMAN PLOTS

AT a meeting of the Harvard Liberal Club in Boston on January 12, a group of eminent conservatives discussed the various phases of the reaction that has been the shame of America for so many months. The most striking and candid utterance of the occasion came from Judge George W. Anderson, one of New England's most prominent lawyers, who from 1914 to the latter part of 1917 was United States Attorney, and who from 1917 until the Armistice was on the Interstate Commerce Commission and in constant close touch with the Attorney General and the Department of Justice in Washington. Thus it will be seen that Judge Anderson's words have special authenticity. Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court addressed a letter to the meeting, in which he wittily and wisely observed that "with effervescing opinions, as with the not yet forgotten champagnes, the quickest way to let them get flat is to let them get exposed to the air." Judge Anderson's plain statement follows:

"Many—perhaps most—of the agitators for the suppression of the so-called 'Red menace,' are, I observe, the same individuals, or class of forces, that in the years '17 and '18 were frightening the community to death about pro-German plots. I want to say something about pro-German plots and their danger to America.

"I ought to know something about those plots. It was my duty to know as much as any man in New England could know. As United States Attorney from November, 1914, to October 15, 1917, I was charged with a large responsibility as to protecting the community from pro-German plots. In October, 1917, I went on the Interstate Commerce Commission; and was until the Armistice in intimate personal association with the Attorney General, and with the men charged with responsibility as to discovering, preventing, and punishing pro-German plots. What I now say, I say entirely on my own responsibility; but I say it after exchanging views with many others having analogous responsibilities during this war period. If in fact the pro-German plots were no adequate basis for public fear, and for legislative and official activities against the right of individual and social liberty, it is quite possible that the Red menace, promoted in large part by the same notoriety-seeking individuals and newspapers, ought not to frighten us to death. Now, I assert as my best judgment, grounded on the information that I can get, *that more than 90 per cent of the advertised and reported pro-German plots never existed.* I think it is time that publicity was given to this view. I doubt the Red menace having more basis in fact than the pro-German peril. I

assert the significant fact that many of the same persons and newspapers that for two years were faking pro-German plots are now promoting 'The Red Terror.' . . . I cannot say there will not be some bomb-throwing. *A fraction of 1 per cent of the pro-German plots actually existed.* There are Reds—probably there are dangerous Reds. But they are not half so dangerous as the prating pseudo-patriots who, under the guise of Americanism, are preaching murder, 'shooting-at-sunrise,' and to whom our church parlors and other public forums have hitherto been open. . . . The heresy-hunter has throughout history been one of the meanest of men. It is time that we had freedom of speech for the just contempt that every wholesome-minded citizen has and should have for the pretentious, noisy heresy-hunter of these hysterical times. "



APPENDIX VII

THE "KADAVER" LIE AND LORD ROBERT CECIL

By T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

EVER since Brigadier General Charteris, chief of British propaganda during the war, told the story of how he and his consorts spread the tale of the Germans reducing their fallen soldiers to fats for us in the manufacture of ammunition and fertilization, London affects to be cruelly shocked, and news of the intention of instituting an official investigation has been followed by denials and affirmations. London is shocked, not by the fact that the British mind can be prostituted to such base levels, but by the exposure of one of the pet atrocity stories of British manufacture, and the identification of the responsible criminal.

Lord Robert Cecil's part in the deal has since been brought into the filthy business for having given the story credibility by lending the authority of his name to it when the British Government was questioned regarding the truth or falsity of the affair in Parliament.

Lloyd George on October 25th declared, when interviewed, that (the story in question) "could not be true and it was never issued officially by the British Propaganda Department."

This statement is not only completely at variance with the account given by General Charteris before the National Arts Club in New York on October 19, which has the authority of the "Chief of Intelligence of the British Army," but is disproved by a record of the proceedings in Parliament as reported in *Hansard* of April 30, 1917, which followed below. In the course of these proceedings Lord Robert Cecil, with every facility for informing himself as to the truth or falsity of the story, deliberately expressed his belief that it was true.

Cecil was selected by the British cabinet to answer the question, and in the London press of that period it was intimated that he was chosen by the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, to make the reply because of his honorable character and the general public esteem in which he was held, particularly throughout the Dominions, America and the neutral States.

We quote from the official *Hansard*:

"Ronald McNeil asked the Prime Minister if he will take steps to make it known as widely as possible in Egypt, India and the East generally that the Germans use the dead bodies of their own soldiers and their enemies when they obtain possession of them as food for swine.

"Mr. Dillon asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the reports widely circulated in this country that the German Government has set up factories for extracting fat from the bodies of soldiers killed in battle; whether these reports have been endorsed by many prominent men in this country, including Lord Curzon; whether the Government has any solid grounds for believing that these statements are well founded; and if so he will communicate the information of the Government to the House.

"Lord Robert Cecil: 'With respect to this question and that standing in the name of the Hon. Member for Mayo, the Government has no information at present beyond that contained in extracts from the German press which has been published in the press here. In view of other actions by German military authorities *there is nothing incredible in the present charge against them*. His Majesty's Government has allowed the circulation of the facts as they have appeared through the usual channels.'

"Mr. McNeil: 'Can this Right. Hon. Gentleman answer whether the Government will take any steps to give wide publicity in the East to this story emanating from German sources?'

"Lord Robert Cecil: 'I think at present it is not desirable to take any other steps than those that have been taken.'

"Mr. Dillon: 'May I ask whether we are to conclude from that answer that the Government has no solid evidence whatever in proof of the truth of this charge, and they have taken no steps to investigate it; and has their attention been turned to the fact that it is not only a gross scandal but a very great evil to this country to allow the circulation of such statements, authorized by Ministers of the Crown, if they are, as I believe them to be, absolutely false?'

"Lord R. Cecil: 'The Hon. Member has perhaps information that we have not—I can only speak from the statement that has been already published and that I have before me:

" ' "We are passing the great corpse Utilization Establishment of this Army group. The fat that is now here is turned into lubricating

oils and everything else is ground down in the bones mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pig food and as manure—nothing can be *permitted* to go to waste.” This statement has been published in the press and this is the whole of the information that I have.’

“Mr. Dillon: ‘Has the noble Lord’s attention been drawn to the fact that there has been published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and other leading German papers descriptions of this whole process in which the word “kadaver” is used and from which it is perfectly manifest and stated that these factories are for the purpose of boiling down the dead bodies of horses and other animals which are lying on that battlefield (An Hon. Member: “Human Animals”), and I ask the Right Hon. Gentleman whether the Government proposes to take any steps to obtain authentic information whether this story is true or absolutely false. For the credit of human nature he ought to.’

“Lord R. Cecil: ‘It is not any part of the duties of the Government nor is it possible for the Government to institute inquiries as to what goes on in Germany. The Hon. Gentleman is surely very unreasonable in making this suggestion, and as for his quotations from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, I have not seen them but I have seen statements made by the German Government after the publication of this, and I confess that I am not able to attach very great importance to any statements made by the German Government.’

“Mr. Dillon: ‘I beg to ask the Right Hon. Gentleman whether before a Minister of the Crown, a Member of the War Cabinet, gives authorization to these rumors, he ought not to have obtained accurate information as to whether they are true or not?’

“Lord Cecil: ‘I think any Minister of the Crown is entitled to comment on and refer to something which has been published in one of the leading papers of this country. He only purported to do that and did not make himself responsible for the statements. (An Hon. Member: “He did.”) I am informed that he did not. He said as has been stated in the press.’

“Mr. Outhwaite: ‘May I ask if the noble Lord is aware that the circulation of these reports (interruption) has caused anxiety and misery to British people who have lost their sons on the battlefield and who think that their bodies may be put to this purpose and does not that give a reason why we should try to find out the truth of what is happening in Germany?’

“No answer.”

These remarks of Lord Robert Cecil left the House of Commons and the British public, as well as the countries before mentioned, in the belief that the Government had evidence establishing the truth of the charge.

Cecil’s statement had powerful influence in the United States and Canada. He was regarded as a man of meticulous niceties in questions

of honor. When he came here he was fêted; bouquets were literally as well as figuratively thrown at him, and he was given the \$25,000 Carnegie peace prize.

The inescapable conclusion now is that he knew well that "the corpse story" was based upon a propaganda falsification and that he exploited it to the very limit—a limit to which no gentleman would go.

It is significant that neither the *New York Times* nor the *New York Herald Tribune* has expressed a word of condemnation of the Charteris story—these two newspapers which gave the greatest prominence to any charge against Germany and the Germans, no matter how vile, and which have continued this policy to the present day.—*The Progressive Magazine*.



APPENDIX VIII

REV. DR. CADMAN AND THE CASE OF EDITH CAVELL

By T. St. JOHN GAFFNEY

FORMER AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL

IN a recent issue of the *New York Herald Tribune*, the Rev. Dr. Cadman, in answer to an inquirer declared that Edith Cavell was one of the six greatest figures produced by the World War. I am amazed that a clergyman of Dr. Cadman's talents and liberal mind should at this date identify himself with such an opinion. It is well to remember, however, that Dr. Cadman is of English birth and that Edith Cavell was also English born.

What are the facts about this woman, as disclosed in her trial? When the Germans occupied Brussels they found Miss Cavell in charge of a hospital for English and Belgian sick and wounded. Instead of relieving her of her position, and putting her across the border, which would have been done by the Belgian and English authorities if the situation had been reversed, the Germans generously allowed her to remain, performing her duties of mercy, and gave her the protection necessary for that purpose. Miss Cavell was a war nurse, operating under the rules and regulations of the Red Cross, which prescribed absolute neutrality and strongly condemned the slightest favoritism between the soldiers of the contending armies. How did she reward the trust and confidence reposed in her by the Germans? The world now knows that she shamelessly violated the rules of her honored profession as a Red Cross nurse, and avowed her infidelity during her trial. She entered into a conspiracy with certain Belgian women with the object of smuggling English and Belgian soldiers out of Belgium to fight against the country which was giving her protection. She supplied

them with money and clothes to facilitate their escape and admitted that she was responsible for the flight of some one hundred and fifty men to the lines of the enemy. Is it possible to conceive of such a gross betrayal of confidence, not to speak of the violation of the rules of her profession?

I have referred to the fact that Dr. Cadman is by birth an Englishman. Let me quote what the well-known English writer, C. H. Norman, has to say on the subject of Edith Cavell in his book, *A Searchlight on the European War*, pp. 81-82.

"Nurse Cavell was indicted for aiding and abetting Belgian and other soldiers to escape from German jurisdiction into the Franco-Belgian lines. It was established, beyond question, that she had a regular organization for this purpose; it cannot be doubted that this was an offense punishable by death under all military codes. The indignation excited about her execution was based on the fact that she was a nurse who had rendered hospital service to the wounded of all countries. From the German point of view, the fact that she was a nurse would aggravate the offense, as she would have more opportunities for carrying on this traffic, and would not be suspected. Many men were executed on both sides for this offense without any public clamor. In England it is not the custom to execute women for quasi-political offenses of this character. That view is not taken in other countries. The French executed a German-born woman for a similar but lesser offense under most deplorable circumstances, quite early in the war. The name of the woman was Ottilie Schmidt. The case attracted some little attention in neutral countries, but was suppressed by the British press. She was charged with supplying food and drink to deserters and giving them civilian clothes. She was executed under circumstances which reflected gravely upon the humanity of the French authorities. It is pretended by the French that their action in this case had the approval of the British military authorities.

"Nurse Cavell had the extreme penalty inflicted upon her partly because of the case of Ottilie Schmidt.

"Most decent persons would agree that both these women should have had the prerogative of mercy exercised in their behalf. Yet, there is something rather shocking in the way the British politicians, who know these facts, have lent themselves to parading the bones of Nurse Cavell through the streets of London in a triumphal procession. Perhaps one may quote the opinion of a British private of some note on this point extracted from 'The Keeling Letters.' B. E. F., November 11, 1915: 'I see from the papers that the silly sentimental agitation about Nurse Cavell still goes on at home. A good many soldiers out here don't think much of it. I have discussed it with many and found them all of my opinion. While admiring the woman immensely, I think the Germans were quite within their rights in shooting her. The agitation reveals the worst side of the English character. I hope some suffragists who prefer to stand for the principle

of women's equal responsibility for their actions will protest against the rot that is being talked.' January 16: 'I respect the Germans as soldiers, I sympathize with the poor devil of the German infantryman who goes through the same hell as I do in a bombardment, and I see the German point of view about the *Lusitania*, the Cavell business, and other matters too clearly for the yap, yap of the press about these things. . . . Execration is a civilian trade.'"

Judge Bausman in his latest book, *Facing Europe*, touches on the Edith Cavell story on page 86, as follows:

"Edith Cavell, a lady who had undeniably been trusted by the Germans, and who would have shared in British hands in the same circumstances the fate of Sir Roger Casement, a noble woman indeed but one who had beyond question forfeited her life under the laws of war. The Germans were foolish enough to be logical. Taking the forfeited life they created a world of tears. The French had repeatedly felt obliged to put women spies or intriguers to death. Nor were we apprised that Miss Cavell had been warned after previous offenses, and that the Kaiser had already pardoned for such behaviors the Comtesse de Belleville and Mlle. Thuliez."

Bausman adds this in a footnote: "I can never forget the simple, honest remark of one of those incomparable Britons, the London policeman, as I was looking at Miss Cavell's statue. 'It was pretty hard,' he said, 'but then, it was one of the rules of the game, sir.'"

Colonel E. R. West, chief of the legislative section of the Judge Advocate General's Department, before the American Bar Association's Committee on Military Justice, at Baltimore, August 27, 1919, declared:

"We have heard much of the case of 'poor Edith Cavell,' yet I have become rather firmly convinced that she was subject to her fate by the usual laws of War. Certainly the French have executed women spies. . . . I believe that a woman spy deserves the same fate as a man spy. Otherwise we would open the gates wide to the most resourceful class of spies that is known."

On a suggestion to recommend abolishment of the death penalty for women spies in American jurisprudence, the three majority members of the Committee to which the question was referred, reported that "They could not concur in the suggestion of Mr. Gregory that there should be a provision prohibiting the death penalty in the case of women spies."

In addition to the execution of Otilie Schmidt referred to above, the French shot for alleged espionage a dozen German and French women and the well-known Dutch dancer Mata Hari, whose death aroused much interest and sympathy. In none of these cases was the evidence of guilt at all comparable to the admissions of Miss Cavell on her trial. No attempt has, however, been made, either in England, America or France, to elevate these victims of the French to the rôle of martyrs, possibly because they did not wear the costumes of the

Red Cross, whose institution and principles Miss Cavell so grossly betrayed.

It is not to be wondered that sensible Englishmen no longer refer to the Cavell case with pride, and that they view with some measure of humiliation and shame the monument erected in her honor in the streets of London.

FACTS ABOUT THE CAVELL CASE

After the lies about war atrocities had slowly and gradually been stifled by truth, marching upon her unerring way, the Cavell film has dragged them forth again from the realm of oblivion. From purely human reasons we should have preferred not to enter the arena in this cause. But since all efforts, even by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, have failed to prevent the spread of new lies and distortions, we feel compelled, in the interest of truth, to bring forward the following facts:

On February 27, 1928, the *Evening Standard* published a letter from the well-known authority on legal matters, Justice Manisty, who from 1918 to 1919 was a member of the Committee for the Investigation of War Crimes. He wrote as follows:

"The Sub-Committee, appointed by the Committee for the Investigation of War Crimes, in order to enquire into the Cavell affair, has come to the conclusion that the German Court-martial that condemned Nurse Cavell, was perfectly right in sentencing her, as she had smuggled soldiers across the frontier to the Allies. The Court-martial was perfectly justified in condemning her to death, for all foreigners living on Belgian occupied territory were subject to German law. Miss Cavell was quite aware of that. *This report was at the time submitted to the Committee constituted by the Allies for the Investigation of War Crimes, and has been passed by it.*"

Simultaneously with Cavell a certain Ada Bodart was sentenced to death at Brussels by a German Court-martial, but was pardoned, as she had two children. *L'Intransigeant* of February 24, 1928, reports that *she, together with Cavell, had smuggled nearly 2,000 French, English and Belgian soldiers across the frontier into Holland.*

An official German report, published by the Telegraph Union on February 29, 1928, says: Miss Cavell was not a nurse, but manageress in a Brussels maternity home. When the Germans occupied Brussels and all the English were expelled, she, at her earnest request, was exceptionally allowed to remain, as she distinctly declared that she considered herself under the protection of the Red Cross. She disgracefully abused the confidence placed in her by the German authorities, for the maternity home under her charge was the very trysting place for soldiers, conducted to her from other sides, who had escaped from German imprisonment, and who, when opportunity offered, were smuggled via Holland to the front of the Allies. Many of these had been kept for months immediately behind the German front and had observed all the

movements of German troops and stores. Such soldiers were, as spies, exceedingly valuable. The leader of a detachment of the Belgian Organization of Spies, named Gille, who was made prisoner about a year after Nurse Cavell's death, said:

"Among the people brought by me to Miss Cavell were many professional spies smuggled into Belgium who had written spy reports in their possession."

The Brussels lawyer, frequently referred to in the foreign press, who claims to have been present when Miss Cavell was shot and who, presumably, is the originator of all the false reports, is the solicitor Kirschel. But he was not admitted when Miss Cavell was shot, and therefore could say nothing about it.

The English Captain Bennett wrote a lengthy letter to the *Evening Standard* which that paper published on February 24, 1928. In it the following passage occurs:

"People who, during the war were under the protection of the Red Cross, had solemnly pledged themselves to observe the strictest neutrality in military and political matters, otherwise no general could have tolerated the presence of civilian doctors and nurses in his district. In spite of having been cautioned twice by the German authorities, Miss Cavell continued to carry on a very efficient organization of spies. She did not dispute that her trial was fair, and met her fate bravely and with dignity. From more than one point of view, the conduct of the Germans lacked wisdom, but no one can deny that, according to International and War Law, they were fully entitled to act in the way they did."

On March 5, 1928, the *Times* published a letter from Chaplain Gahan of the British Christ Church in Brussels in which he dilates on the Cavell affair. He writes:

"British soldiers who had escaped and were safely across the Dutch frontier, wrote postcards thanking Miss Cavell and advising her of their safe arrival. Some of these cards were handed to her by the German Field Post as 'a friendly warning,' so the Chaplain thinks. In June, 1915, after a severe cross-examination she was warned very seriously by the Military Police. Like many other Englishwomen, she could easily have obtained permission to return to England, had she wished it."

The German clergyman, Paul Le Seur, now residing at Haus Hainstein, Eisenach, gives a lengthy record of facts relating to the Cavell case, from which we cite the following:

"In October, 1915, I was asked by Dr. Stöber, Councillor to the Court-martial, to minister to Miss Cavell's spiritual wants, and in 1919 I had already protested against the lies and distortions that the Allies scattered about in their post-war propaganda. The accused had organized an agency for the purpose of smuggling able-bodied men across the Dutch frontier, so that they might join the armies fighting against Germany. The chief culprits were considered to be a Belgian

architect named Baucq and Miss Cavell, who was working at a private hospital. For the sake of her calling the German authorities had not curtailed the freedom of her movements, but she grossly abused that confidence for the aims of her organization. She gave shelter in her hospital to men able to carry arms in order to facilitate their escape to Holland. She herself has admitted having helped at least 250 men across the frontier. This number represents the war strength of a company, who later on were to kill Germans. The Judge thought the assumption that actually a much greater number was involved would probably be much nearer the truth. It was very painful to me to carry out my mission, as I felt that she would resent my assistance as coming from a German. In addition she, being a member of the Anglican Church, could hardly be ministered to by any one except an Anglican priest. Therefore, as I knew the Rev. Gahan well, who during the whole period of occupation had been allowed to hold his services without any interference, I asked her whether she wished to see him to which she gladly assented. Finally I told her that during her last moments it would be my duty to be by her side, but I asked her whether I should try to get Mr. Gahan to take my place, which she decidedly declined. Mr. Gahan was allowed to remain with her as long as he liked, without any witnesses, probably for more than two hours. Later on I learned that the representative of the German Office, Baron v. d. Lancken, had tried, but in vain, to prevent the death sentence being carried out. Nevertheless a Paris illustrated paper brought a picture showing Baron v. d. Lancken himself shooting Miss Cavell with a revolver.

"Some years ago a prominent Anglican clergyman, together with a gentleman from the German Foreign Office, visited me in order to enquire about what really happened. He assured me *that the educated classes in England were perfectly aware that juridically the sentence was absolutely fair and just.*

"The former German Emperor, when he heard that the sentence had been carried out, made some very strong remarks and ordered that in future death sentences on women had to be confirmed by him.

"Up to now I have not read the evidence of the case, but I can fully answer for the fact that the sad event passed off without any incident, and all those present endeavored to treat the condemned woman in a chivalrous way. All assertions to the contrary are untrue.

"Already in 1917-1918 the Danish engineer Jul. H. West, a neutral, wrote in foreign papers against the defamation of the German nation. In one of these essays wherein he protests against the Cavell slander, he writes: No one amongst us was present at the trial, or could have read the evidence, as according to war usage, such proceedings in all countries are secret. No one here, therefore, could know anything definite, but I am placing myself on quite a different basis. For more than a dozen years I have acted as sworn expert at German Courts, and therefore know the usual methods of justice as practised there. Speaking from the extensive experience that I have gathered

in all those years and from numerous actions, and by careful study of the evidence on record, I cannot possibly think that German judges could have condemned Miss Cavell to death without very positive proofs. Neither the French nor the Belgians have any cause to get excited over this solitary instance of a woman being executed by the Germans, for they did the same thing, not only at the beginning of the war, when the flames of passion rose to tremendous heights, but also during the later years of the war. As far as I could gather reliable data, the French have executed six women as spies, and the Belgians one. I herewith give the list:

1. *Julia van Wautesghem*, Belgian, sentenced by the Third Belgian Army, executed at Louvain, on August 18, 1914.
2. *Margarethe Schmidt*, German, executed at Nancy in March, 1915.
3. *Ottilie Moss*, German, executed at Bourges in May, 1915.
4. *Felicie (Luise) Pfaadt*, sentenced by Court-martial at Marseilles (?), on July 10, 1916, and executed at the military shooting range, Pharo, near Marseilles on August 20, 1916.
5. *Antoinette Dufays*, French, widowed Tichilly, sentenced by the Second (French) Court-martial on December 21, 1916 (Conf. "L'Humanité," December 21, 1916).
6. *Margarete Zell* (artist's name, Mata Hary, also MacLeod), Dutch, sentenced July 24, 1917, by the Third Court-martial in Paris, executed at Vincennes near Paris on October 15, 1917.
7. *Marie Antoinette Arico*, called Regina Diana, French, sentenced on September 10, 1917, by the Court-martial at Marseilles (?), executed at Marseilles on January 5, 1918.

"According to this list the French have executed *three German women, two French Women, one Dutch woman*, and the Belgians, *one Belgian woman* as spies. In Germany none of these executions has been made the cause of slandering the people of those hostile countries. Miss Cavell and all the other women named above died as heroines. And the German way is to honour and respect heroes and heroines.

"On February 27, 1928, the House of Commons for a whole hour discussed the Cavell film. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, in the name of the whole Cabinet declared as reported by the *Times* of February 27, 1928 (p. 8):

"I believe that account of the execution to be wholly apocryphal, and it is an outrage on a noble woman's memory to turn, for the purposes of commercial gain, so heroic a story. . . . I am speaking as an English gentleman what I think: the film is an outrage on humanity. (Cheers.)"

APPENDIX IX

WHAT PRICE PEACE?

ARMISTICE DAY sermons, speeches and editorials seem strangely to have missed one of the main points.

We have such things as the League of Nations, the World Court, the Locarno pacts, the Pact of Paris and, most recently, President Hoover's anti-starvation proposal, all aimed at the elimination or mitigation of war, but all, likewise, based on the apparent assumption that the preservation of peace means the preservation also of the status quo. All efforts to avert international war are doomed to failure unless they include provisions for the peaceful establishment of international justice.

Herein lies the gravest weakness of the various anti-war agreements. They are so largely mere devices for preserving existing equities and inequities. Whatever the strong have been able to grab, during the World War or earlier, they are to be guaranteed possession of by security treaties and anti-war pacts. The Treaty of Versailles and the lesser treaties which accompanied it are set up as a sort of international ten commandments, which all nations must obey, however deeply they feel themselves wronged thereby. Not right and reason, but the status quo, is the standard which the peace agreements are set up to defend.

Unless adequate means are provided for the rational and equitable modification of this status quo, I doubt that the existing peace pacts, or any others, will avail to prevent the outbreak of disastrous international wars. The peoples of the world have long known that the winning of wars demands heroism and sacrifice. They have yet to learn, apparently, that the winning of a durable and desirable peace demands also heroism and sacrifice; heroism by a few leaders in persuading the more favored peoples to sacrifice unfair advantages and undeserved possessions which other peoples vitally need and insistently demand. This is, I believe, the very great price that must be paid for world peace, and I greatly fear that the nations of the world are not yet ready to pay that price. What steps are being taken to get them ready?

HENRY W. LAWRENCE.

New London, Conn., November 12, 1929.

APPENDIX X

THE WAR GUILT CONTROVERSY

I. CRITICISM OF THE FINDINGS OF THE WAR GUILT COMMISSION
—THE CASE OF LANSING AND SCOTT

By T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

FORMER AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT MUNICH AND DRESDEN

PARAGRAPH 231 of the Treaty of Versailles states:

"The Allied and Associated Powers declare, and Germany acknowledges, that Germany and its allies are guilty of having caused all losses and damages which the Allied and Associated Governments and their peoples suffered in consequence of the war which was forced upon them by Germany and its allies."

Not half of one per cent of the voting population of the United States has any knowledge of the circumstances or motives which brought about the insertion of this monstrous article in the so-called peace treaty of Versailles. Nor is it generally known among our people that President Wilson and his two delegates, Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, were largely responsible for the admission of guilt exacted from the representatives of the German Government at the signing of the treaty.

On January 27, 1919, the preliminary peace conference appointed a commission "to determine the responsibility for the outbreak of the war and to fix the penalties therefor." The commission was to consist of fifteen members, two each from the five great powers and one each from the minor allied States. The quality and impartiality of this tribunal may be estimated from the fact that the Kingdom of Serbia, which was the initial cause of the war, contributed one of the judges. President Wilson designated his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, and Dr. James Brown Scott, Councilor in the State Department, as the American representatives in this high judicial body. Dr. Scott, who was born a British subject, and his colleague, Mr. Lansing, were both esteemed as being well versed in international law, which explains their selection.

At the first session of the commission Secretary Lansing was chosen chairman, and both he and Dr. Scott are credited with having conducted its proceedings until the unanimous verdict was handed down.

The commission held its sessions during the months of February and March, and announced its decision on March 19, 1919, in the form of a judicial opinion, as follows:

"The war was planned with deliberation by the Central Powers and their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and is the result of acts com-

mitted with a purpose to make war inevitable. In understanding with Austria-Hungary, Germany deliberately sought to avoid the many mediatory efforts and recommendations and to weaken the repeated efforts of the Entente powers to prevent war."

I may here remark that this commission, in an opinion of six typewritten pages, decided a question, after two months' inquiry, the solution of which has occupied the greatest historians in all countries during the past ten years.

Thousands of publications have appeared and are still appearing which treat of this problem. These publications are the result of the tireless efforts of scholars and investigators whose names are a guarantee of good faith and are familiar the world over. Among the American authors of distinction who have repudiated this verdict, I may mention Professors Burgess, Beard, Barnes, Cochran, Fay, Langer and Schevill, Judge Bausman, former United States Senator Owen and A. J. Nock.

It is now conceded that this partisan commission violated all the fundamental rules of law and evidence and the safeguarding principles which assure the discovery of truth and a just verdict. American judges who conducted proceedings in American courts as Messrs. Lansing and Scott did on this commission would subject themselves to impeachment. There is now no question that the fifteen judges, including the presiding officer, Lansing, ignored all constitutional provisions and the accepted rules of procedure as they prevail in the statute books of their own and all other civilized States. Above all, they violated the cardinal rules that no one shall act as judge in his own case and that no one should be condemned without a hearing. It is a principle of jurisprudence that no case can be honestly decided solely on the testimony of the complaining party and without hearing the other side. At no time during the sessions of this commission did the American delegates propose that the Germans be heard, nor did they seek information or evidence in their behalf from a single authorized person. This procedure is certainly not in accord with the American standard of justice, fair play and professional ethics. Furthermore, the fact that Serbia, immediate cause of the war, was allowed to sit as a judge on such a tribunal paralyzes credulity.

But Lansing and Scott not only identified themselves with the statements and deductions approved by the commission; they went further in declaring that "the war had arisen in consequence of Austria-Hungary's deliberate intention to destroy 'a brave little country'—Serbia."

Responsible historians and war writers now admit that the commission's verdict was based upon vengeance, forgery and falsehood; has no legality morally, politically or historically, and is valueless in an investigation of the causes of the war. It is significant that this vitally important verdict, the foundation stone of the Versailles Treaty, is never quoted or even referred to by Entente apologists. The most

astounding feature of this remarkable document is that the Russian mobilization, which all historians consider as the chief cause of the outbreak of the war, is never mentioned, although the facts of the case were at the disposal of the commission.

The words "forgeries and falsifications" have been used above deliberately. It has been shown that Lansing and Scott, in their zeal to secure the judgment they desired, presented to the commission certain documents which were afterward exposed as falsifications. These included the well-known extract from the von Wiesner document and the Lerchenfeld papers. Alluding to the conduct of the American delegates in arbitrarily lifting a paragraph from this report, Baron von Wiesner declared as follows in *Current History* for July, 1928:

"According to the citation of Messrs. Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, the impression was given that I had declared Serbia to be completely guiltless, while, on the contrary, I made a very clear statement regarding the serious charges which could be proved against Serbia. Through this false quotation of my telegram the American delegation introduced great confusion into the question of war guilt and laid on the government of the monarchist régime an accusation which was wholly without justification. My appeal to Messrs. Lansing and Brown Scott to clarify the origin of this quotation has to the present, unfortunately, remained unanswered."

The Lerchenfeld document has been denied officially, and falsifications in connection therewith have been proved in court proceedings. Twelve foreign experts gave testimony during the Fechenbach trial in Munich, including the French historian, Professor Edward Dujardin of the Sorbonne, who gave the following opinion:

"It is my conviction that the text which the *Bayrische Staats Zeitung* has published is one of the most ambiguous and unscrupulous forgeries in history."

This was the counterfeit text utilized by the American delegates. Apologists for Lansing and Scott have offered in excuse for their action that they had no knowledge at the time that these documents were falsifications, and that they accepted them in good faith. This explanation, of course, implies a grave reflection on the judicial competency of the American delegates. One would imagine that the fact that the papers emanated from the Serbian Legation in Paris and were handed to them by the Serbian Minister would have stimulated caution and aroused suspicion, but there appears to have been no limit, at that time, to the credulity of these two American international lawyers.

A long time has elapsed since the truth in regard to these documents has seen the light, and yet Mr. Lansing, during his lifetime, although repeatedly challenged, failed to offer any explanation or apology.

Dr. Scott, who is, happily, still living, has also remained silent.

During the summer of 1928 an effort was made by the faculty of Heidelberg University to obtain an opinion from him. The eminent rector of that famous institution addressed a polite note to the learned doctor, asking him if he still adhered to his original judgment in view of the revelations and official and other evidence that had been brought to light in recent years. Dr. Scott replied that as he was a representative of the American Government on the commission he could not withdraw or modify his verdict so long as his government had not changed its attitude on the subject. Dr. Scott, therefore, puts the matter definitely up to the American Government of today, which is fortunately not laboring under the influence of the myths, hysteria and prejudices of the wartime administration. His statement shows, however, how necessary it is in the cause of justice and historical truth that this question should no longer be ignored.

The amount of space at my disposal will not permit me to deal with all the deductions and conclusions of this commission. One prominent feature of the report was the allegation that Germany had planned a "dark conspiracy against the peace of Europe," which has been completely disproved by the documentary evidence now at our disposal. General W. H. H. Waters, a distinguished English officer of the World War, in the October number of the *London Quarterly Review*, made the following statement: "I have studied in four languages masses of official secret pre-war documents published since the war. They confirm Mr. Lloyd George's reported remark of 1920 that the 'myth' of a German conspiracy to bring on war was exploded." Scores of similar opinions from American, neutral and Entente authorities have been published.

Another ridiculous paragraph, alleging that the Kaiser premeditated the war, reads as follows: "Many months before the crisis of 1914 the German Emperor had ceased to pose as the champion of peace. Naturally believing in the overwhelming superiority of his army, he openly showed his enmity to France." As a matter of fact—and of this the Kaiser could not have been ignorant—the official statistics of the strength of the armies of the opposing groups establishes the superiority of the Franco-Russian forces over the Central Powers by 1,712,000 men. I may also state that the Entente outlay for military and naval purposes during the ten years previous to the war almost doubled that of the Central Powers. The alleged Potsdam War Council, associated with the name of Ambassador Morgenthau, also figured prominently in the Lansing-Scott report, with other myths and legends which have been already sufficiently exposed.

A book by the noted authority on war guilt, Alfred von Wegerer, called *Die Widerlegung der Versailler Kriegsschuldthese* (The Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis), deals in detail with all the evidence and will soon be available in English. It is a devastating analysis of the report, and no attempt has been made by Entente historians to refute his statements or conclusions. In fact, evidence of

such volume has come from the archives of the European powers that it is now generally admitted that scarcely a single fact upon which the commission based its verdict can be sustained in the light of the undisputed proofs which exist today. The whole presumption flowing from this report, indeed, and the way in which it was drafted and formulated, points to but one conclusion—a conclusion, be it said, confirmed by all the new evidence that has come to light in recent years and by the opinion of a number of eminent scholars—that the victors, in order to justify the punitive provisions of the treaty, the impossible reparations demanded, the robbery of private property and the seizure of German colonies and provinces, all of which was inconsistent with Wilson's fourteen points, decided to extort, willy-nilly, and on any sort of "evidence" obtainable (even fraudulent and spurious!), an admission of guilt from the defeated nations.

The verdict of this commission, in which Lansing and Scott figured so prominently, and its poisonous effect on international peace and friendship, have done more to keep alive hatred and hysteria than any other cause. A true reconciliation of the peoples of Europe is impossible until the verdict is annulled and Article CCXXXI is expunged from the Versailles Treaty.

The responsibility of our government for this guilt article arises primarily from the appointment by President Wilson of Lansing and Scott on the commission which adjudged Germany solely guilty of the war. On March 29, 1921, the American Government made its first official declaration in the war guilt question in a note concerning reparations addressed to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, containing the following statement:

"This government stands with the governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparations so far as may be possible."

Furthermore, the peace treaty between the United States and Germany, signed November 14, 1921, confirmed this attitude by making Article CCXXXI of the Versailles Treaty an integral part of our treaty, as is apparent from Article II, Part I of our treaty, which reads:

"With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article, with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

"(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section 1 of Part LV, and Parts V, VI, VIII (1), IX, X, XI, XII, XIV and XV."

The preamble of Part VIII dealing with war guilt, to which the treaty specifically refers, is the objectionable Article 231.

As an evidence of the hysteria which characterized Lansing, the presiding judge of this high commission, I submit the following extract from a resolution proposed by him March 12, 1919, to that body.

It is recorded by his colleague, Dr. Scott, in the volume *What Happened in Paris*, edited by Colonel House and Professor Seymour, so it must be authentic. This resolution read as follows:

"The war which was begun in 1914 was unrighteous and indefensible. It was a war of aggression. The masters of the Central Powers, inflamed by the passion to possess the territory and sovereignty of others, entered upon a war of conquest, a war which in magnitude, in waste of life and property, in merciless cruelties and intolerable woes, surpasses all wars of modern times. *The evidence of this moral crime against mankind is convincing and conclusive.* . . . The authors of this atrocious war ought not to pass unscathed into history. They should be summoned before the bar of universal public opinion to listen to the verdict which mankind passes upon the perpetrators of the greatest crime against the world. Therefore, in the name of those who sacrificed their lives that liberty might live, in the names of the helpless who endured unspeakable atrocities, in the name of those whose ruined and plundered lands bear witness to the wickedness of the accused, in the name of humanity, of righteousness and civilization, an outraged world denounces, as infamous, and demands the judgment of the ages against William of Hohenzollern, once German Emperor and King of Prussia."

This fantastic and grotesque declaration, from the pen of the chairman of the Commission on War Responsibilities, is without parallel in the whole sordid story of the peace conference. It is convincing evidence that Mr. Lansing did not possess the impartial and objective attitude which would be required from any man acting in a judicial capacity.

It might be argued that in view of the fact that the thesis of sole German war guilt is no longer seriously maintained, and that it is now generally admitted by competent authorities that the Allies had an equal, if not a greater, share of responsibility for the war's origin, the chief cost of the calamity should not be imposed on that power; particularly after depriving her of her colonies and some of her most valuable and productive provinces. But leaving aside such argument, we are at least entitled, in view of the facts brought out in this article, showing the basis of the War Guilt Commission's verdict, to ask this question: Why does our government, by its silence, continue to condone and perpetuate in Europe a condition of injustice which it now knows to be founded on the false judgment of a partisan commission?

Is it any wonder that in these circumstances the world views with skepticism our ardent professions in favor of peace? A true reconciliation of the peoples is impossible so long as this spirit prevails in our own and the Entente Cabinets, and so long as the sanctions of the Versailles Treaty, based as they are, and especially the guilt clause, on fraud and hypocrisy, continue to constitute the controlling factor in the existing European order.

Is not the writing plainly shadowed on the wall, that all our well-meant efforts, exemplified by Kellogg pacts and disarmament conferences, will prove futile and ineffectual unless a radical change of policy is soon adopted? Otherwise we may find ourselves marching on the way to future wars under the banner of Peace.

My whole point of view in this matter is most convincingly set forth in the "Concurrent Resolution," submitted on January 7, 1929, to the American Senator Shipstead. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. After quoting Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty and pointing out that the United States was a party to it through the signature of its two delegates, Mr. Lansing, the chairman, and James Brown Scott, the resolution continues as follows:

"Resolved, by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives are hereby authorized and directed (1) to hold an inquiry, either separately or jointly, for the purpose of determining whether in view of the new evidence and other official material the time is appropriate for the American Government, inspired by the sense of justice and fair play, to recommend to the Allied Powers either to amend Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles without further delay or to announce severally their intention to disregard it or to propose to the Allied Powers that the question of the responsibility for the World War be submitted to a commission of neutrals, and (2) to report to the Congress the result of such inquiry on or before March 4, 1929."

This resolution was never acted upon, but the duty of the United States, and the danger to international comity and peace, remain unchanged.—*Current History*, New York.



APPENDIX XI

THE SECRET TREATIES

SENATOR JOHNSON, questioning President Wilson before the Committee on Foreign Relations, August, 1919:

"These specific treaties, then, the Treaty of London, on the basis of which Italy entered the war, the agreement with Roumania in August, 1916; the various agreements in regard to Asia Minor; and the agreements consummated in the winter of 1917 between France and Russia relative to the frontiers of Germany, particularly in relation to the Saar Valley and the left bank of the Rhine—of none of these, did you, Mr. President, have any knowledge prior to the conference at Paris?" The President, "No, sir. I can confidently answer that question, no, in regard to myself."

The *New York Sun* and *New York Times* of December 2, 1917,

and the New York *Evening Post* of January 25, 26, 28, 1918, published the Secret Treaties, and on November 23, 1917, the Lenin government published the entire text of these documents which were discovered in the Russian Foreign Office. They were printed in the leading newspapers of the world and transmitted to the Department of State. Both Colonel House and Secretary Lansing, Wilson's chief advisors on foreign affairs, had copies of them and yet the President had the assurance to declare that he knew nothing about them till he arrived in Paris. In a recent article on Wilson, which appeared in the New York *Herald Tribune*, that paper says:

"Irrefragable proof is furnished that notwithstanding Wilson's denial to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, he had in fact been apprised of the existence of the Secret Treaties, especially the Treaty of London embracing the Italian territorial claims, at a time early in the war when the Balfour Mission came to America. This information was confirmed in a letter from Balfour to Wilson in January, 1918. The existence of the Treaty of London was brought to his attention more than once thereafter, House referring to it by name in a cable sent to him on Armistice Day. Indeed, Point IX, of the Fourteen Points was evidently formulated with the Italian claims fully in mind. That Wilson replied emphatically 'No' when the Senators asked him whether he had been informed of the Secret Treaties before the Peace Conference is another tragic mystery which will be solved variously by the President's admirers and opponents. Professor Seymour notes charitably that at the time of this denial Wilson was on the verge of his physical and nervous breakdown. The bitter enemies whom he has left behind him will interpret the incident differently."

Referring to the same subject *The New Republic*, in its issue of September 3, 1919, says:

"If it were not bad form to question the truthfulness of the President, it would be interesting to inquire why the President thought it necessary to deceive Senator Johnson and the American people. What does he gain by pretending that he knew nothing of the Secret Treaties until he reached Paris? By the pretence he certainly sacrifices every intelligent person's respect for his ability, because only a dunce would be ignorant of such profoundly important matters as these treaties, especially when they were common knowledge. Mr. Wilson knew about them in substance at least. Of that, out of respect for his intelligence, we must be certain. Why, then, feign ignorance? The answer is that he now pretends ignorance in order to evade the question, which is the supreme question of American diplomacy during the war: 'Why was no agreement reached during the war as to the status of the Secret Treaties in view of the fourteen points and the agreement in the Armistice?' That question searches out the roots of Mr. Wilson's failure, both moral and practical, and rather than face

it he is willing to make himself out a man totally ignorant of that diplomacy in which he is supposed to have been a leading figure."

An article which appeared in *The Nation*, August 30, 1919, entitled, "The Innocent Abroad," may also be consulted to advantage.



APPENDIX XII

AS this volume was going to press the following remarkable article appeared in the London *Daily Mail* of September 25. Viscount Rothermere is the brother of the late Lord Northcliffe, and owns or controls some of the leading British newspapers, including the *Daily Mail*. The article has created a sensation in Europe.

A NEW CHAPTER IN EUROPE'S HISTORY

ORGANISING GERMANY'S YOUTH

WARNING TO LEAGUE PUNDITS

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

IN the important message from Munich which we published yesterday Viscount Rothermere explained the tremendous significance of the recent German general election and the victory in it of the National-Socialists under Herr Hitler.

A new Germany, Viscount Rothermere wrote, is rising before our eyes.

She is strong to-day. She will be much stronger a few years hence. She is determined now. She may before long be defiant.

We can do nothing to check this movement, and I believe it would be a blunder for the British people to take up an attitude of hostility towards it.

We must change our conception of Germany. Hitherto we have thought of her as a prisoner of war. She is not free as other nations are free. We have made the recovery of her full national liberty depend upon the fulfilment of payments and conditions quite rightly enforced against her will. So far, under protest, these requirements have been met. What force exists to compel their completion? Is it wise to insist upon the last letter of the law? The older generation of Germans were our enemies. Must we make enemies of this younger generation, too?

A TERRIBLE AWAKENING

IF we do, sooner or later another and more terrible awakening is in store for Europe.

Let us consider well before we lay our course towards that peril.

If we examine this transfer of political influence in Germany to the National-Socialists we shall find that it has many advantages for the rest of Europe. It sets up an additional rampart against Bolshevism. It eliminates the grave danger that the Soviet campaign against civilisation might penetrate Germany, thus winning an impregnable position in the strategical centre of Europe.

The only other German party which gained a marked increase of seats in the general election were the Communists, whose membership in the Reichstag has grown from 54 to 76. Were it not for the new direction given to the energies and ambitions of youthful Germany by the National-Socialists, there was a great likelihood that the cause of Communism might have made a sensational advance and even become—who knows?—the first party in the State.

This was the expectation of many competent foreign observers in Germany. Moderate opinion in Britain and France should therefore give full appreciation to the services which the National-Socialist Party has rendered to Western Europe.

THE UNITED EMPIRE PARTY

UNDER Herr Hitler's control the youth of Germany is effectively organised against the corruption of Communism. It was with some such purpose that I founded the United Empire Party in England, for it is clear that no strong anti-Socialist policy can be expected from a Conservative Party whose leaders are themselves tainted with semi-Socialist doctrines.

For the welfare of Western civilisation it would be of the best possible augury that a Government should come to power in Germany inspired with the same sound principles as those by which Signor Mussolini, in the past eight years, has regenerated Italy.

Nor do I see the need for Britain or France to adopt a hostile attitude towards some of the aspirations of the National-Socialists in foreign policy. Their complaint that Germany alone among the great Powers is reduced to a condition of defencelessness has a real basis of justice. By Article 8 of the Treaty of Versailles, the Allied Nations pledged themselves to progressive disarmament. The restrictions imposed upon Germany's army and fleet were intended to be only a prelude to a general renunciation of military power. Yet while Germany's forces remain limited to 100,000 men and a few ships for coast defence her neighbours have steadily added to their armaments.

To keep a compact mass of over 70,000,000 patriotic and extremely capable men and women in the very centre of Europe under a permanent sense of injustice is like leaving a gas-jet turned on in an unventilated room.

Sooner or later an explosion is bound to happen. The Allied Powers in their own interests should make it their business to open the tight closed windows behind which German resentment is accumulating.

THE POLISH PROBLEM

THERE are several aspects of Germany's present situation where direct discussion between her and the States especially concerned might remove a serious risk of international trouble. The prolonged tension between the Germans and the Poles is only one instance. I believe that the cause of this ill-feeling might be dispelled if the German Government, in return for concessions by the Poles, undertook to guarantee the eastern frontier of Poland against Bolshevist Russia.

It is on that side that the real danger to Polish existence lies. No one who, like myself, systematically observes the desperate energy with which Soviet Russia is developing her foreign export trade at any price she can get, will overlook the possibility that the money she is accumulating so eagerly may be intended for aggressive military action.

A discussion such as I suggest is the only way to avert the arrival of another world catastrophe as soon as time has healed the wounds of those nations to which the last war brought disaster. Exasperation so strong as theirs will not fade with the passing of years. It will remain as a constant incentive to direct action. *No country with an acute sense of nationality could be content to rely upon the League of Nations for redress of its just grievances.*

GENEVA HUMBUG

THE humbug of Geneva is well exemplified by the experience of Hungary. As Count Apponyi, the distinguished spokesman of that ill-used country, reminded Europe last week, Hungary has been appealing to the League of Nations for ten years in vain on behalf of the 3,300,000 Hungarians whom the Treaty of Trianon put under a foreign yoke for that protection against oppression which the treaty itself requires the League to supply.

The cynical indifference with which the pundits of Geneva burk the question of the sufferings of the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia shows how little reliance can be placed upon the League to remove the international injustices which still overshadow the face of Europe.

A powerful, highly patriotic people like the Germans will never be satisfied to leave the attainment of their national ambitions at its mercy. It is more likely that when a National-Socialist Government arrives in power Germany, under that party's vigorous leadership, will herself show the way to immediate redress of most flagrant injustices.

In doing so she would achieve something far greater than the *anschluss* or union with Austria, to which large sections of German public opinion aspire. She would bring within her orbit not only the 3,000,000 Germans in Czecho-Slovakia, together with the 3,000,000 Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, but also quite possibly the Hungarian nation itself. As a result of such developments Czecho-

Slovakia, which has so systematically violated the Peace Treaty both by its oppression of racial minorities and its failure to reduce its own armaments, might be elbowed out of existence overnight.

I regard this as a perfectly possible eventuality of the future—much as I should regret it, since the propaganda carried on by my brother, the late Lord Northcliffe, and myself during the war was mainly responsible for the State of Czecho-Slovakia coming into existence at all.

ALLIES' BLINDNESS

THE concentration that I have indicated would form a solid mass of well over a hundred million people living side by side in the centre of Europe. Thus the misfortunes of war, thanks to the wilful blindness of the Allied Powers, would provide Germany with the foundation of as formidable a political combination as she could have hoped to build up even had she been victorious.

Denial of justice and systematic oppression are forces which may yet bring this huge agglomeration together. No bonds could be more powerful. I for one should certainly counsel Hungary to take her part in such a federation if the redress of her just wrongs continues to be indefinitely denied her.

The only stipulation I should suggest would be that Hungary should maintain her independence as a nation. The one beneficial result of the war for the Hungarian race among the manifold mutilations and injustices that have been inflicted upon her is the restoration of her old autonomy and individuality as one of the most distinguished and most gallant peoples in Europe.

This great national combination under German hegemony which I see gradually shaping itself as a potential feature of the Europe of a not far distant future would, as I have said, be a rampart against Bolshevism indeed. In numbers and natural resources it would form a counterpoise of strong, sane government to set against the pressure of Soviet lunaticism.

I repeat that the dramatic success which the German party of youth and nationalism has just won should receive the closest possible attention from the statesmen of Britain. They should set themselves to examine diligently those potential sources of conflagration which are smouldering beneath the present peaceful surface of Europe.

Instead of holding on to the baseless illusion that the existing state of international relations is eternal and unchangeable they should take steps to deal with its most dangerous defects before they become acute. I am entirely opposed to anything like the tearing up of peace treaties, but they should be adjusted to suit the conditions of the decade beginning next year.

Twelve months ago I strongly urged upon the British Government the return to Germany of all those African colonies, with the

exception of German South-West Africa, which we took from her during the war.

Again I emphasise the desirability of such a restitution. We already have more tropical possessions in Africa than we are able to develop, and some of them are a constant burden on the British Treasury.

To hand back to Germany some of her former African Colonies would be a gesture of friendliness which would cost Britain nothing. Similar concessions could not, however, be expected from France, who is fully entitled to all the territories she received under the peace treaties.

There is a force in political affairs which diplomats almost invariably leave out of account. Yet it is the most powerful and persistent of them all. Its name is *inevitability*.

The result of the general election ten days ago shows it to be working with much potency in Germany now. I confidently predict that within the next few years it will have altered not a few features of the map of Europe which the politicians assembled in Paris in 1919 complacently believed they had fixed for ever.







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